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Visual Framing of Patriotism and National Identity on the Covers of Der Spiegel

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VISUAL FRAMING OF PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
ON THE COVERS OF *DER SPIEGEL*

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Andrea Pyka

May 2010

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VISUAL FRAMING OF PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
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by

Andrea Pyka

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND

MASS COMMUNICATIONS

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2010

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ABSTRACT

VISUAL FRAMING OF PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY ON THE COVERS OF *DER SPIEGEL*

by Andrea Pyka

This thesis studied how *Der Spiegel*, a news magazine in Germany, visually framed images of German patriotism and national identity on its front covers between 1947 and 2009. This study specifically examined whether the covers showed an increase in symbols of patriotism and national identity following four major events in Germany. The events included: the building of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany, the adoption of the Euro, and the 2006 World Cup. A framing analysis of the covers showed that there was an increase in symbols of national identity across each of these four events. However, based on the statistical results, there was no gradual increase in patriotism symbols on the covers of *Der Spiegel* across the events. The results also revealed that there was a greater number of patriotism and national identity symbols after three out of the four events than before the events. There was an exception with the adoption of the Euro, which had more symbols before the event versus after the event. *Der Spiegel* covers were coded for five symbols of patriotism and national identity: political figures, the German flag, Germany's national colors, the coat of arms, and symbols categorized as other. Of these symbols, political figures were most commonly used on the covers across the four events.

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Chapter I

Introduction

In the world of journalism, where online versions of newspapers are rapidly emerging on the Internet, one prominent news factor continues to captivate worldwide audiences: magazine covers. Publishers around the globe produce magazines that use stylistic techniques and visual trademarks on their covers to transform current news into visually appealing artwork. Text placement, cover image, use of color, and choice of words are among the significant cover design elements that embody a magazine's overall image. Not only does the cover image appeal to the reader's eyes, but the manner in which a particular issue or event is visually framed on a magazine cover can influence an individual's understanding of news. In other cases, a magazine cover can affect how one identifies with his or her home country, as well as encourage national pride within a community during a crisis or a day of celebration, through powerful symbols, including the image of a country flag. This study examined how front covers of *Der Spiegel* from Germany visually framed issues of patriotism and national identity to its respective country over the past half-century.

Photographs alone tell a story and grab a reader's attention, but since the early 1900s, images on magazine covers have shaped and supported ideals, promoted trends, and established many historic icons, such as James Montgomery Flagg's depiction of Uncle Sam on the cover of *Collier's* (Heller & Fili, 1996). The way magazines visually portray a major event can also reinforce a sense of unity within a nation, as was the case with the 2006 World Cup in Germany. While American magazines were highlighting

Italy's victory, Germany's *Der Spiegel* was advocating a sense of German patriotism with multiple images of the country's flag and proud Germans pictured on the cover. Beard (2006) emphasized the "unifying effect of the World Cup" (para. 26) that occurred among Germans. Beard (2006) wrote: "Few could have predicted the way in which this event like no other in modern Germany has engendered what might be a lasting patriotism" (para. 5). The ways in which magazines such as *Der Spiegel* visually frame themes of patriotism is relevant not only for spreading and encouraging pride within a nation, but also for shaping an individual's perception of national identity.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how *Der Spiegel* visually framed symbols of patriotism and national identity on its front covers. This served as a means of determining whether *Der Spiegel* presented a gradual increase in patriotism and national themes since it was first published in the aftermath of World War II, a war that had a profound effect on the German psyche. In addition, this study sought to determine how *Der Spiegel* visually presented images of patriotism and national identity following major events in Germany. To ascertain the visual framework of patriotism and national identity on the covers of *Der Spiegel*, framing theory was applied. *Der Spiegel* was chosen for this study because of its role in influencing the public's opinions about social and political issues in Germany, not only through its quality writing, but also through the impressive cover artwork. Covers of *Der Spiegel* that displayed themes of patriotism and national identity were chosen starting with the year 1947, when the magazine was first published. In addition, subsequent years that pertained to major events in Germany that

have influenced Germany's sense of self were specifically selected. The specific time periods provided substantial time frames before and after significant events in Germany to determine whether there were changes in the presence of patriotism and national identity symbols pertaining to the events.

With the increasing significance that is placed on visuals as framing devices, a framing study is important for analyzing how the visual elements on magazine covers act as symbolic tools for representing certain ideals or thoughts within a culture (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2008). It is the front cover of a magazine that initially draws the reader's curiosity to discover the meaning behind the cover lines and the captivating image on the cover. As a result, the appeal factor of a magazine cover increases readership (Held, 2005). Therefore, examining the design elements and overall images on the covers of *Der Spiegel* through framing theory not only reveals what magazine designers believe visually intrigues the reader to pick up the magazine, but also how the magazine frames their main points of concern through symbolic imagery.

To provide context and background information for this study, Chapter II consists of a literature review that first discusses the primary sources which provide an overview of framing theory. This is followed by a review of literature that introduces the impact of visual imagery and how issues are visually framed within the media. Subsequently, literature pertaining to magazine covers is discussed. The following section includes a brief description of *Der Spiegel* and some of its visual trademarks. The final part of the literature review incorporates information about patriotism and national identity. This section touches upon how patriotism and national identity is viewed within Germany.

This leads into an overview of the most relevant literature that was used for this study and a theoretical framework for how the concepts were applied to this study. This provides a transition into the hypotheses of this study, which leads into the selection of a method in Chapter III. Chapter IV consists of the results of the research, including graphs and tables, as well as the qualitative findings. The final section of this study, Chapter V, is a discussion of the results, as well as the contributions of this study. In addition, Chapter V discusses the implications of this study and some directions for further research.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

Framing Theory

From psychology to political science, framing is an area of study for researchers in a diverse range of fields, especially within the mass media (Reese, 2001). Reese (2001) stated that “media texts represent the most readily available evidence of frames...” (p. 16). The idea of framing is not subject to one particular classification within mass media, but, according to Reese, it is often regarded in terms of how certain events are depicted to an audience. In Reese’s words, framing is “the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences” (p. 7). Framing within the news not only entails the text, but also visual images (Entman, 1993). In whichever form, framing analysis continues to be widely recognized within the field of mass communications.

Erving Goffman (1974) was the first researcher attributed to the idea of framing (Simon & Xenos, 2000). Goffman described frame analysis in terms of an organization of experience that an individual processes in his or her mind. Frames mainly serve as organizational tools (Reese, 2001). According to Tuchman (1978), readers learn about themselves and others within and outside of their country through frames. Tuchman added that “the news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know” (p. 1). Although media frames alone can create positive and negative impressions on a reader (Reese, 2001), the effects of framing also depends on the way in which the audience interprets what they see and read.

Framing relies on how stories are presented to the world through words and visuals, yet the significance of framing would be undervalued if it were not dependent on the information an audience decides to retain. An audience actively chooses the media content, which Fortunato (2005) refers to as the “messages that the audience actually has the potential to see, hear, read, or click onto—the messages that are given exposure by a mass media organization that the audience has the opportunity to retrieve” (p. 4).

According to McQuail (2005), individuals freely choose media content. Therefore, selecting news depends on the role of the media and how frames in the media organize everyday life (Tuchman, 1978). Yet, people are only aware of small aspects of social life, especially in terms of the media, because they lack a certain depth in their ideals and customs (Gitlin, 1980). Nevertheless, people have a certain dependency on the media (Gitlin, 1980). While the resulting changes in attitudes of an individual based on the media’s representation of certain ideals or values symbolize some of the effects of framing, how the news is framed ultimately depends on the role of the journalist.

Journalists’ role in framing. The news aims to frame stories around what the public wants to read (Shen, 2003). An audience seeks media for information, entertainment, and social needs, as the media attempt to fulfill those desires (Fortunato, 2005). According to McQuail (2005), the media organize content to appeal to a specific target group. McQuail (2005) wrote: “The media are continuously seeking to develop and hold new audiences, and in doing so they anticipate what might otherwise be a spontaneous demand or identify potential needs and interests which have not yet surfaced” (p. 407). Hence, readers can influence the overall decision-making processes

in the media, which rely on the expectations, desires, and dependencies of the readers (Fortunato, 2005). Nevertheless, a journalist develops frames that fulfill certain media standards, which are to “line up with the salient social values,” and “accommodate inconsistencies so audience members can see how things fall together” (Dvir-Gvirsman & Shamir, 2009, p. 5).

There are several factors that the media consider when framing the news to satisfy the needs of their readers (Shen, 2003). These factors include conflict, personalization, values, consequences, and responsibility (Shen, 2003). Factors aside, what the media decide to print also depends on the level of professionalism within and outside of the newsroom (Tuchman, 1978). Tuchman (1978) saw the media as social institutions in which the decisions stemming from professionalism are a result of organizational needs, as well as the relationship between news and the people working in the news. Tuchman wrote that news is “inevitably a product of newswriters drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional practices” (p. 4). The way in which the news is socially constructed (Tuchman, 1978), as it pertains to the relationship between journalist and reader, can thereby influence the audience’s awareness within the media, which can shape the eventual outcome of the framing process (Reese, 2001).

Framing as a process. Framing in the news involves two processes: the transformation of an occurrence into an event and then transforming the event into a news story (Tuchman, 1978). The word “frame” alone refers to an active process and result (Reese, 2001). Entman (1993) identified selection and salience as the two major aspects of framing to describe the influences of a communication text. Salience involves making information more appealing and meaningful to an audience (Entman, 1993). Therefore, changes in salience can either detract or enhance the likelihood that the audience will understand and adopt the messages in the media during the communication process (Entman, 1993). Entman defined the communication process in terms of four primary locations: the communication, the text, the receiver, and the culture. These are all significant aspects of how an audience interprets frames (Entman, 1993).

According to Entman (1993), the frames in the four locations of the communication process have similar roles. Entman (1993) discussed “selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution” (p. 53). Yet, the information transfer process and news making can result in certain consequences. For example, an individual’s knowledge, experiences, and beliefs can affect the information-receiving process (Wan, 2006). However, the potential ineffectiveness of the process also pertains to frames, each of which presents various means of encouraging a reader’s understanding of the world (Reese, 2001). The impact of media frames and the communication process ultimately depends on how an individual interprets the meaning of the text.

Framing and the text. While framing serves as a means of demonstrating the influence of a “communicating text,” frames alone are embedded in the text (Entman, 1993). The presence of frames is dependent on the elements within the text (Dvir-Gvirsman & Shamir, 2009). According to Entman (1993), frames are “manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). Based on the placement and reiteration of ideas or words in relation to what Entman defined as “culturally familiar symbols” within the text, certain information becomes more understandable for the readers. During the interpretation process of the text, a reader’s understanding of the subject can be influenced by certain preexisting mental frames or schemas (Entman, 1993; Shen, 2003). In other cases, individuals find information within the media that fit their own schemata (Wan, 2006).

In interpreting the text, Bell (2000) and Tannen (1993) said that readers have certain expectations. Tannen explained that the role of expectations underlies the fact that individuals need to look at every object, event, or person as a whole rather than as separate entities. Tannen wrote: “The only way we can make sense of the world is to see the connections between things, and between present things and things we have experienced before or heard about” (pp. 14-15). Bell cited structure, sentence length, content, headings, and presence of images as some of the readers’ criteria. Bell wrote that readers “reactions to the text are expected to reflect their frames of knowledge of the world and their interest in the text” (p. 5).

Bell (2000) defined four types of framing — extratextual, intratextual, circumtextual, and intertextual — in relation to reading and interpreting the text. Extratextual framing involves applying previous knowledge and experiences to understand the text; intratextual framing pertains to interpreting the text through “cohesive devices” such as headings; circumtextual framing is developing a mental image of the text through “peripheral features” including the title of a book; and intertextual framing is relating previous readings to the text (Bell, 2000). Regardless of the means of frame reading, a reader’s opinion on a particular subject in the media can be influenced by text, not only as words, but also in the form of an image.

Visual Imagery in the Media

From a full-page advertisement to a colorful feature spread in a magazine, visual messages are employed within a wide range of media aspects. According to Lester (2005), there are various forms of visual images present all around the world. This, however, was not always the case. The importance of visuals has changed since the early days of the Gutenberg printing press, when words were considered the primary method for conveying ideas (Lester, 2005). The rise of television, computers, and the Internet resulted in a newfound appreciation for visuals and the way the public perceives visual messages (Lester, 2005). Today, photographs or illustrations not only draw a reader’s attention, but they also help the reader more accurately understand the reality of a situation, because visuals more easily prompt emotional responses from an audience than words (King & Lester, 2005; Lester, 2005). Messaris and Abraham (2001) noted that the most relevant elements of images are those that enhance or mitigate certain

consequences. Messaris and Abraham encouraged readers to pay closer attention to visuals as framing devices within the media and how this plays into the way an audience interprets the news.

Visuals and framing. Although the term “frames” in relation to magazine design refers to the outer margins on a page (Conover, 1985), the idea of visual framing entails more than its literal definition. Research on framing tends to focus on words (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2008). However, visual framing is still a part of making sense of news. According to Kim and Kelly (2007), visual depictions of a story are just as influential as the actual printed words on a page. Kim and Kelly argued that visual framing provides a better understanding of how the media frame an event or issue to the public.

When the theory of framing first appeared in the mass media, it was often associated with the visual elements of a message (Reese, 2001). Therefore, it is only natural that visual imagery remains a significant element of framing in the media. Messaris and Abraham (2001) associated images with three distinct properties, namely analogical quality, indexicality, and lack of explicit syntax. Together, they are effective tools for framing and articulating visual messages (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). As a result, Messaris and Abraham stated that all of these factors “may make visual framing less obtrusive than verbal framing” (p. 215). Although Messaris and Abraham strongly distinguished between texts and pictures in the media, Lester (2005) noted the significant relationship between words and images. According to Lester, “the most powerful, meaningful, and culturally important messages are those that combine words and pictures equally and respectfully” (p. vii). Regardless of whether a message is textual or visual,

all messages in the media have literal and symbolic components (Lester, 2005) that can affect the visual communication of images in the news.

Visual communication. Starting at a young age, one is taught how to process information based on text printed in a book (Ryan & Conover, 2003). Yet, according to Ryan and Conover (2003), learning often depends on how one visually understands things. Similar to learning about words, letters, and spelling, one can study the significant elements of visual communication such as grammar, syntax, language, and style (Ryan & Conover, 2003). Understanding these elements of visual messages depends on the interaction between the eyes and the brain (Lester, 2005). The brain tends to remember images that are highly meaningful and leave a lasting impression on our sense of understanding (Lester, 2005). Lester (2005) wrote: “Visual messages that are remembered have the greatest power to inform, educate, and persuade an individual and a culture...” (p. vii). In terms of the visual communications of the media, visual messages are more prominent and easily remembered than words, due to the emotional attachment a reader associates with visuals (King & Lester, 2005; Lester, 2005), whether it is a powerful front page image of a newspaper or a photo on the cover of a magazine.

Magazine covers and design. From fashion-forward *Vogue* to nature-exploring *National Geographic*, magazines around the globe vary greatly in editorial content and design that specifically cater to the special interests of their audience. Yet, a magazine, derived from the Arabic word *makhzan* meaning storehouse (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007), encompasses more than its dictionary definition. A magazine can shape the way one understands the world; it can serve as a medium for political and cultural debates, and represents the voice of a nation (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). Most importantly, a magazine, specifically its cover, serves as a public stage or canvas on which designers display their art (Crowley, 2003). Like a painting, a magazine cover entices the eyes through the image as the reader tries to interpret its symbolic significance.

The cover, or what Conover (1985) calls the “display window,” is what the public first sees, thereby leaving a lasting impression (Conover, 1985; Johnson & Prijatel, 2007; White, 1982). Conover (1985) identified the cover as the most important element of the magazine in terms of design. Conover (1985) wrote: “[The cover] not only identifies the publication but it says something about its personality” (p. 219). According to Johnson and Prijatel (2007), about 80% of consumer magazine newsstand sales are determined by the cover image. Thus, what is presented on the cover can determine whether a passerby decides to pick up and buy the magazine. Held (2005) stated that the cover is a magazine’s most important selling tool. Therefore, magazine publishers depend on a cover’s self-promotion as a means of gaining readership (Held, 2005). Thus, a magazine cover must be convincing, express a sense of value, and represent a sense of identity (White, 1982). In addition, the cover’s design should be discernible from other

magazines, intrigue the reader to flip to the inside pages, and represent the overall mood and tone of the magazine (Conover, 1985). While these aspects of magazine design affect the appearance of a cover as a whole, how the individual elements on a cover are visually laid out can make a difference in the overall look of a magazine.

Principles of Design

Although each magazine employs a sense of individuality to attract readers, the overall layout and design of a magazine is an important element that requires some sense of uniformity (Kyrnin, n.d.). To create a unique style for a magazine, designers can apply some or all of the common design principles, unity, balance, contrast, and emphasis.

Unity. To maintain a reader's attention and to help meet certain expectations, a magazine requires consistency in design (Held, 2005; Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). Therefore, a magazine should portray some sense of unity or proximity, which entails grouping certain elements together (Kyrnin, n.d.). Utilizing grids, borders for images, colors, and typography are some means of creating a sense of unity on a page (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). Nevertheless, Johnson and Prijatel (2007) noted that it is important to incorporate details in the layout, including using different fonts for titles and photo captions. Otherwise, a magazine continues to present the same layout, thereby resulting in a loss of appeal for the readers (Cleveland, 2005).

Balance. In terms of design, balance refers to the distribution of elements based on visual weight and color (Kyrnin, n.d.; Tersitsky, n.d.). For example, large and dense elements appear heavier, whereas smaller images are viewed as lighter (Kyrnin, n.d.). Tersitsky (n.d.) noted that balance on a page occurs on a vertical axis on which all of the elements are equally balanced on both sides of the axis. Elements on a page can be balanced in one of three ways: symmetrically, asymmetrically, or discordantly (Kyrnin, n.d.). Symmetrical balance is placing equally heavy-looking elements on both sides of the vertical axis (Kyrnin, n.d.). Asymmetrical balance is grouping elements of unequal weight opposite to each other (Kyrnin, n.d.). Finally, discordant balance involves making a design appear slightly off-balance as a means of portraying a sense of motion and action (Kyrnin, n.d.). Johnson and Prijatel (2007) noted that for a page to look balanced, the elements need to appear natural and contained within the page.

Contrast. Although the term contrast is often associated with colors like black-and-white (Kyrnin, n.d.), in design contrast includes typography, shape, and photograph size (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). Kyrnin (n.d.) defined contrast as emphasizing the differences between elements. When used effectively, the contrast of a shape or image not only helps differentiate between the elements, but can also help a reader remember the important aspects of a story (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007).

Emphasis. Similar to key words on a page, emphasis in design involves making the most important elements on a page visually stand out (Kyrnin, n.d.; Tersisky, n.d.). Tersisky (n.d.) stated that emphasis of images and text on a page can be achieved by contrast and placement of the elements. Tersisky wrote: “Emphasis is what catches the eye and makes the viewer stop and look at the image” (“Emphasis,” para. 1). However, it is important not to emphasize all of the elements on a page (Tersisky, n.d.). Otherwise, the elements blend together and none of them stand out (Kyrnin, n.d.; Tersisky, n.d.).

Each of the four principles of unity, balance, contrast, and emphasis, are important factors that play a role in the layout of a magazine and how a reader perceives the overall identity of magazines from around the world, including *Der Spiegel*.

Der Spiegel and Design

Der Spiegel is a highly respected print medium known for its detailed news coverage and for revealing major government scandals (“Der Spiegel,” n.d.). *Der Spiegel*, which is German for “the mirror,” was founded in 1946 by Rudolf Augstein, when it was originally called *Diese Woche* (“Der Spiegel,” n.d.). First published in 1947, *Der Spiegel* is a weekly news magazine (“Der Spiegel,” n.d.) that is widely acknowledged for its unique front cover depictions and distinctive visual trademarks, including the red frame that surrounds each of the images on the front covers. According to Aust (2004), former editor-in-chief of *Der Spiegel*, the magazine’s covers over the years have featured the work of some of the best illustrators. Aust (2004) wrote: “Each week, the cover of *Der Spiegel* serves as the magazine’s current calling card, awakening the interest of the casual passerby and bringing the subject on the cover story to visual

life” (p. 6). However, up until the late 1900s, illustrators and art designers in Germany were not held in high regard because their work was considered “run-of-the-mill graphics” (Aust, 2004, p. 8). Aynsley (2000) attributed the lack of artistic appreciation in German print media to the fact that many illustrators at the time could not easily adjust to the design standards of earlier publications. This was quite the opposite in the United States, where American magazines were valued for their cover images, which represented the overall identity of the publications (Aust, 2004).

Although historically German and American magazines were different in terms of visual design, today’s print media in Germany and the United States, particularly magazines, tend to reflect similar design techniques (Roessler, 2007). For example, *Der Spiegel* and *Time* share similar elements of design (Rothstein, 2008), especially on their covers. Rothstein (2008) noted that both magazines employ a red frame bordering the main image on their covers, which remains a consistent powerful visual device. Aside from similar visual elements presented on magazine covers like *Der Spiegel* and *Time*, the way the news is visually depicted can influence an audience (Kim & Kelly, 2007). In the case of *Der Spiegel*, certain historical events that occurred in Germany and that were portrayed on the front covers provided a powerful first impression of the circumstances at the time. Part of this study focused on the first issues of *Der Spiegel*, starting in 1947, paying attention to the lifestyle and mindset of Germans during that time and how these interplayed into the visual selection on the magazine’s covers.

Historical Context of Germany in 1947

While *Der Spiegel* was just beginning to make its mark in the world of journalism in early 1947, Germany was still in the midst of recovering from the Second World War. After the defeat of the Third Reich in 1945, Germany was divided into four zones of occupation: British, American, French, and Soviet (Turk, 1999). Thereafter, Germany attempted to rebuild itself (Killick, 1997) after much of the country was destroyed in the war (Turk, 1999). Germany, nevertheless, continued to experience a decrease in industrial production, especially coal output (Berghahn, 1982). In addition, Germany suffered from a limited food supply, caused by a worldwide grain shortage and extreme weather conditions (Killick, 1997). By 1947, the average individual daily caloric intake was 1,800 compared to 3,000 in 1938 (Killick, 1997). Due to the lack of a stable currency in Germany, American cigarettes became a form of monetary exchange (Judt, 2005). In 1947, the monetary value of one cigarette carton in Berlin was between \$60 and \$165 (Judt, 2005). For example, in Germany in 1947, one could purchase a bicycle for 600 cigarettes (Judt, 2005). Despite some of the hard economic and social times, Germany was still involved with certain political and economical policies in 1947, including the Marshall Plan, which called for the United States to provide Germany with resources as a means of recovering from the war (Turk, 1999). Historical tragedies and accomplishments throughout Germany's history not only affected the lifestyle and experiences of East and West Germans, but also the larger meaning of national identity after 1945. From the political framework of National Socialism to the fall of the Berlin

Wall, several historical factors continue to influence a German's self-understanding and how they identify with their home country.

National Identity and Germany

Despite the continuous debate among historians, philosophers, and social scientists about the role of national identity (Huang, Roy, Rethen, Wei, & Wells, 2006), for many scholars, national identity primarily signifies the key principles and customs within a nation (Luther, 2002). According to Andrews (2007), national identity is “simply part of human life” (p. 13) that is present the moment we are born. Andrews wrote: “The process of early childhood socialization lays the groundwork for sympathetic reception to national myths, but as we mature, we must find a role for ourselves in the meaning of those stories” (p. 13). National identity is defined as a “constructed *and* public national self-image based on membership in a political community as well as history, myths, symbols, language, and cultural norms commonly held by members of a nation” (Hutcheson, Domke, Billeaudeau, & Garland, 2004, p. 28). For Staab (1998), communities develop an emotional connection to a nation, which provides direction in an individual's search for a sense of belonging in the world. Schröder (2002) believed that the world could not exist without nations. Schröder stated that the development of a nation primarily rests on the collaboration of nations, thereby citing Germany's connection to countries such as France and Poland. Schröder nevertheless stressed the longstanding concerns and uncertainties surrounding national identity in Germany resulting from a series of historical occurrences.

While Schröder (2002) emphasized the importance of strengthening the ties between East and West Germans during a divided Germany, Staab (1998) and Burbank (2003) discussed the role of national identity in relation to the reunification of Germany. Staab examined the perception of identity among East Germans, for whom the reunification was what he classified as the “ultimate vehicle for the formation of a national identity” (p. 6). Burbank studied the attitude of national pride among a group of 795 Germans, based on age and location, specifically East and West Germany. Burbank’s study revealed strong generational differences between the participants’ view of national identity: German participants born before 1946 showed higher levels of national pride, whereas the younger generation of Germans born after 1976 felt a sense of shame in their national identity. National pride refers to the “positive affect that the public feels towards their country as a result of their national identity” (Smith & Kim, 2006, p. 1). In terms of national pride among Germans, Burbank concluded from her study that, as opposed to West Germans, East Germans had an overall stronger sense of national pride and appreciation for the reunification of Germany. Prior to the reunification of Germany, 21% of West Germans were proud to be German (Harold, 1989). Inthorn (2007) explained that West Germans tended to stray from identifying with Germans that were “defined by members’ parental lineage, heritage of national culture, as well as shared cultural values, history, national character, and ancestry” (p. 11), and instead promoted liberal democracy.

Even after the German reunification, Fulbrook (1999) argued that Germany's overall national identity was associated with such characteristics as angst, aggressiveness, and egotism. Fulbrook believed that following the Nazi past, some form of national pride was improbable. According to Neumann (2005), few places in the world have experienced such a torn notion of national identity as Germany. This, however, did not prevent Germans from seeking to newly define themselves and their country, in spite of earlier classifications of the so-called "German self" which Inthorn (2007) described as "insecure and struggled between ethnic and civic notions" (p. 9). Fulbrook wrote that today, Germans classify themselves based on shared ancestry. Schröder (2002) on the other hand stated that Germans are defined based on how others perceive them. Schröder added that today, Germany is founded on the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, and participation. Fulbrook mentioned that in other parts of the world, for example America, national identity rests on common ideals and goals. Fulbrook wrote:

National identity does not exist, as an essence to be sought for, found and defined. It is a human construct, evident only when sufficient people believe in some version of collective identity for it to be a social reality, embodied in and transmitted through institutions, laws, customs, beliefs and practices. (p. 1)

Although national identity has varying degrees of significance within cultural communities around the globe, the media are attributed with the specific role of constructing and reproducing national identity (Huang et al., 2006).

National identity and the media. While news content alone can depict a sense of national identity, the media reveals the importance of being a member of a nation (Inthorn, 2007). Inthorn (2007) wrote that “the selection of specific themes and images is central to the media’s imagining of national self and other” (p. 21). Inthorn added: “Media discourse trains us in knowing where we are in the social world and how best to do things there” (p. 21). As a means of presenting national identity, Terzis (2001) explained that the media undergoes two processes: 1) stressing the connections between members of a nation and 2) supporting the differences between what Terzis defined as “us” and “others.” Aside from the direct influence of media producers, Inthorn considered the rise of innovative technologies a powerful factor in determining how the media represents national identity. According to Inthorn, many believe that the increasingly globalized world is devaluing the role of national identities. However, Inthorn disagreed, stating that “just like the nation-state has not yet become an outdated concept, the power of nationalism has not been diminished” (p. 22). Focusing on recent developments within the field of mass communication reveals the effects they have on media discourse, and also the effects on the readers’ understanding of national identity.

Printed content, power elites, and political conditions are some of the key issues that can influence how an audience interprets the depiction of national identity in the media (Luther, 2002). Luther (2002) discussed the role of power structures in overseeing the image of a nation that is presented in the media. Luther examined a series of articles in newspapers in Japan and the United States to verify a sense of consistency in the representation of national identities between 1975 and 1995. Luther concluded:

...a nation's sense of identity is manifested in press writings, through conveyed images, and when examined over a broad span of time within the context of historical events researchers may be able to more fully understand not only the complexities involved in the interplay between structural conditions, national identities, and images of nations, but also the important role these images may play in the communication processes between nations. (p. 80)

Similarly, Huang et al. (2006) discussed the presence of national identity within print media by specifically looking at the relationship between newspaper content and reading, which are “inextricably interrelated and both contribute to the discursive production of national identity in significant ways” (p. 5). Huang et al. defined national identity in terms of its two forms: patriotism and nationalism. For the purpose of this study, the definition of patriotism as the devotion, love, support, and defense of one's home place was applied (Huang et al., 2006; Schaar, n.d.). Nationalism on the other hand is “an ideology advocating the formation of a separate nation-state for each distinct ethnic group” (Flowerdew & Leong, 2007, p. 274). National conflicts often result in an increase in the presence of nationalism and patriotism (Huang et al., 2006; Hutcheson et al., 2004; Moshe, 2004). On the other hand, Skitka (2005) stated that patriotism is able to exist without nationalism. While themes of nationalism and national identity reflect certain attitudes of national pride, images of patriotism continue to promote unity and pride not only to a country in fear during a crisis, but also within the mass media that reach audiences all around the world.

Patriotism and the Media

From flying a flag to a certain pride in a leader (Moshe, 2004), patriotism can be expressed in many ways. Patriotism stems from the Latin term “patria,” meaning “Fatherland,” (Flowerdew & Leong, 2007) which is also the common term associated with Germany. According to Schaar (n.d.), patriotism is one of the basic human emotions. Schaar wrote: “We become devoted to the people, places and ways that nurture us, and what is familiar and nurturing seems also natural and right. That is the root of patriotism” (“Natural Patriotism,” para. 2). Sennett (2003) explained that a patriotic feeling is a mix of many elements and is not merely a representation of one nation or a particular culture. Sennett wrote: “[Patriotism] tells a story of what binds disparate people together, and both the virtues and dangers of patriotism depend on how the story is told” (p. 32). The storytelling is thereby left to the journalist, whose duty is to express the viewpoint of a democratic patriot who appreciates the principles, rights, and institutions of a republic (Murphy, Ward, & Donovan, 2006).

Framing themes of patriotism in the media not only serves as support for a nation and for what it stands, but is also a key factor in determining how an individual perceives his or her home country, especially in a time of crisis. Skitka (2005) examined patriotism in the context of post-9/11 by studying Americans’ responses to the terrorist attacks, specifically the presence of American flags. Skitka wrote:

Even under conditions that inspired considerable moral outrage and serious concerns about safety, Americans nonetheless flew the flag to symbolize their commitment and connections to their fellow citizens, not to declare that the United States was superior and dominant, or that out-groups should beware. (p. 2004)

Huang et al. (2006) and Hutcheson et al. (2004) saw the September 11, 2001 aftermath as a significant opportunity to explore the resulting presence and depiction of patriotism and national identity in America. However, not only do tragic events such as 9/11 result in increased patriotic support from a nation, but worldwide events also enhance a sentiment of honor and love of a country.

German patriotism. Patriotism, once associated with the “blind obedience to a dictatorial leader” (Beard, 2006, para. 5) in the “Fatherland” that is Germany, has since transformed in meaning and value among Germans. While Germany has come a long way since the Nazi era, Beard (2006) stated that many Germans are still reluctant to act openly patriotic and proud of their nation. Burbank (2003) related German patriotism to “aggression,” “extremism,” and “ethnocentrism,” and considered it problematic to declare a certain German pride. Beard wrote: “If you are a proud German you generally do not express that by flying the national flag or singing the national anthem, both of which have been more associated with Germany’s far-right parties” (para. 5). Poschardt (2006) attributed the current lack of national pride to the fact that he sees Germany as a delayed nation, in the sense that even after 60 years of shame and self-consciousness (Boyes, 2006), Germans can’t entirely break free from their past.

Despite current questions over the meaning of patriotism in Germany, Beard (2006) argued that Germans are “waking up to the fact that it is normal to be patriotic” (para. 4). However, the role of German patriotism continues to develop in Germany and in other parts of the world (Inthorn, 2007), as Germans discover new ways of identifying with their nation. Therefore, this study attempted to identify the gradual changes in

visual patriotism and national identity, considering Germany's past, and paying particular attention to key events that transformed the meaning of German patriotism and the way Germans perceive themselves. The overall transformation in the value of patriotism and national identity in relation to past events in Germany served as a historical basis for analyzing how German patriotism and national identity is viewed today, and also for understanding how the recent 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall was depicted on the cover of *Der Spiegel*.

Overview of Main Literature and Theoretical Framework

To provide theoretical background for this study, the key literature pertaining to the theory of framing was reviewed in terms of the influences it has on an audience's interpretation of media messages. The most relevant literature included the work of Tuchman (1978), who saw framing as a means of teaching individuals about themselves, their environment, and the way they perceive the world. This led into Goffman's (1974) definition of framing as an organization of experience that an individual processes in his or her mind. Although the information surrounding Tuchman and Goffman primarily dealt with news as a means of telling an audience what they want to, need to, and should know, the literature review also discussed Reese (2001) and Entman's (1993) idea of framing as a process. Entman focused on framing as a communication process of information transfer between the audience and the media. This was relevant for this study to help reveal what specific factors of the information-gathering process determine how the media presents information in an appealing and meaningful way.

A considerable amount of research on framing pertains to the framing of written text, yet the way an image is visually framed on a page can also drastically influence an individual's understanding of media messages. Lester (2005) and Ryan and Conover (2003) were some of the key sources that discussed the role of visual imagery in the media as a means of drawing a reader's attention. The ability of images to leave a lasting first impression on an audience, as noted by Lester and Ryan and Conover, related to the larger topic of this study, namely the visual significance and impact of magazine covers. Johnson and Prijatel (2007) and Crowley (2003) were particularly important sources for this study, in that they emphasized magazine covers not only as a selling tool, but also as the essential component of magazine design.

In terms of combining the importance of visuals in the media with the theoretical method of framing, Messaris and Abraham's (2001) discussion on visuals as framing tools was valuable for analyzing how front covers of *Der Spiegel* visually framed patriotism and national identity. The information provided by Huang et al. (2006) and Hutcheson et al. (2004) was useful for developing an overall understanding of national identity as it pertains to the media. Given that this study primarily dealt with a German news source, a significant portion of the literature on German national identity entails information from Fulbrook (1999) and Inthorn (2007), who discussed national identity in relation to Germany's history. Fulbrook specifically looked at the influence of the reunification of Germany on the country's definition of national identity. Inthorn was an especially valuable source, not only because she provided a detailed account of Germany's history, but also because of her discussion of the representation of national

identity in German media. Skitka (2005), Boyes (2006), and Beard (2006) offered additional information that dealt with patriotism and national identity, and were, therefore, useful for this study, by providing context for examining how patriotism and national identity were reflected on the covers of *Der Spiegel* over time.

By applying a visual framing theory, this study analyzed the visual significance of German patriotism and national identity on the front covers of *Der Spiegel*. The theory of framing, specifically visual framing, was used in this study to determine how symbols of patriotism and national identity were depicted, more specifically how these symbols were framed on the covers of *Der Spiegel*. For consistency purposes, this study employed the theory of framing based on Reese's (2001) definition of framing as the way events and issues are organized and understood. This study specifically analyzed symbolic images of patriotism and national identity, including the German flag, country colors, the coat of arms, political figures, and other symbols that were identified during research, including historical monuments in Germany, such as the Brandenburg Gate.

Hypotheses

By looking at how *Der Spiegel* visually framed symbols of patriotism and national identity on its covers in relation to four major events in Germany, this study sought to confirm the following hypotheses:

H1: The number of symbols of German patriotism on the covers of *Der Spiegel* will increase across the four seminal events and the associated years.

H2: The number of symbols of German national identity on the covers of *Der Spiegel* will increase across the four seminal events and the associated years.

H3: The German flag and colors are the visual forms of patriotism and national identity that are used most commonly on the covers of *Der Spiegel* for the chosen events, as opposed to the symbols of the coat of arms, political figures, and symbols as other.

H4: There are more symbols of patriotism and national identity on *Der Spiegel* covers after each of the series of events than before the events.

Chapter III

Method

This thesis studied how *Der Spiegel* visually framed symbols of patriotism and national identity on its front covers, and how these depictions varied before and after certain major events in Germany. This study examined a series of *Der Spiegel* covers through a combined qualitative and quantitative analysis, which included a content analysis of the covers. A quantitative framing analysis served as a means of obtaining the numerical data that either supported or disproved the hypotheses. Through a content analysis, the covers were analyzed for the presence of specific images on the covers that were classified as depicting patriotism and/or national identity based on the definitions of the symbols. Baxter and Babbie (2003) wrote: “Content analysis is a research technique for the systematic, replicable, and quantitative description of the manifest or latent features of communication texts” (p. 240). This study also included a visual history of *Der Spiegel* covers starting in 1947 to 2009 to provide an overview of the design techniques applied on each of the covers and how these techniques gradually transformed over the years. Due to the visual impact of magazine covers, a qualitative analysis was not only useful for defining *Der Spiegel’s* visually appealing approach, but also as a means of determining how patriotism and national identity was presented through images and design elements alone.

As defined by Hutcheson et al. (2004), national identity is the public image that is constructed based on an individual’s membership within a community or nation. Patriotism is the love of a country (Huang et al., 2006; Schaar, n.d.). These definitions of

patriotism and national identity, the distinction between the symbols, and the context in which the symbols were presented, determined whether one of the symbols was more likely associated with a sense of patriotism or national identity, or a combination of both. Examining patriotism and national identity within Germany is important, not only in relation to Germany's history as a reunified nation, but also to examine how forms of patriotism and national identity are increasingly manifested after the gradual acceptance and developing devotion of the German community to its nation. Therefore, the growing significance of German patriotism and national identity on *Der Spiegel* covers was identified and analyzed through a quantitative and qualitative method.

Qualitative Analysis

Since a magazine cover was the primary subject of this study, a qualitative approach was an important means of evaluating the way in which patriotism and national identity symbols were visually portrayed. As part of the observational analysis, the symbols were studied in terms of the context in which they were portrayed, more specifically, the significance of the image in relation to Germany. Upon analyzing the cover image as a whole, the visual details were studied, including the proximity of the person or object on the cover to the audience and the way in which the symbols were portrayed. In addition, the brief introductory paragraphs that accompanied each cover on the *Der Spiegel* website were read for context in order to gain a better understanding of the meaning behind the cover image and the person being depicted. This was particularly beneficial for certain covers in which it was not immediately visually apparent whether the cover was depicting a certain national pride.

This study also examined the specific stylistic choices for portraying the patriotism and national identity symbols, such as the use of color, the size of the symbols, and the placement and wording of the cover lines. Looking at the covers from a design perspective not only emphasized the overall image, but also revealed the significance of patriotism and national identity. In studying *Der Spiegel* covers between 1947 and 2009, the developments in cover design over the years were noted, including the transition from black-and-white to color images. Additionally, the gradual transformation in the visual depiction of the symbols, such as the presentation of important political figures as well as the use of national colors on the covers, was analyzed.

Quantitative Analysis

The sample. A total of 1,104 covers (ranging between 258 and 262 covers for each of the chosen events) were initially scanned (with approximately 52 thumbnail images per page) for symbols of patriotism and national identity. The individual covers were the unit of analysis. The number of covers for each of the studied years varied by approximately two to three covers, because *Der Spiegel* printed more issues in some years than other years. A total of 343 patriotism and national identity symbols were identified on 295 covers from 1947 to 2009, taking into consideration that certain covers featured more than one symbol. From the 295 covers there were a total of 17 covers that had more than one symbol of patriotism and national identity. By coding the 53 covers from 1947 and the 55 covers from 2009, this study sought to visually distinguish how patriotism and national identity was initially depicted during *Der Spiegel's* first year of publication versus today.

Der Spiegel covers were examined two years before and two years after four major historical events in Germany. The events and the years of analysis included: the building of the Berlin Wall (coded the years 1959-1963), the reunification of Germany (1987-1991), and the adoption of the Euro currency (2000-2004). The exception was the 2006 World Cup (2005-2009), in which only one year before the event and three years after the event were analyzed. The reason for the exception was that the statistical program used for this study, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows, was not able to recognize the year 2004 as part of two separate events. This study also looked at the depiction of symbols in the year that each event occurred, namely the building of the Berlin Wall (which occurred in 1961), the reunification of Germany (1989), the adoption of the Euro currency (2002), and the 2006 World Cup (2006). These four events were chosen due to the influence they had on Germany's sense of self, understanding of national pride, and the developing form of German identity. Special attention was also placed on the covers depicting each of the events. The covers were accessed through an online archive available through the *Der Spiegel* website.

Coding variables. The covers that displayed some forms of patriotism and/or national identity were analyzed and coded for symbolic images that are historically relevant to Germany. Of the 295 covers between 1947 and 2009, eight variables were coded. First, the covers were coded for the main frame, specifically whether the cover was patriotic, showed forms of national identity, or displayed symbols of both patriotism and national identity. The covers were also coded for the individual symbols: 1) the country flag in its various forms, 2) the use of the country colors, 3) the depiction of

political figures, 4) the coat of arms, and 5) any other patriotism and national identity symbols that presented themselves. For covers in which symbols, such as the name of a politician, could not be identified, or if a cover was unavailable on the *Der Spiegel* website, the covers were coded as unable to be determined.

The symbols that were coded on the covers were identified by the researcher based on the overall visual representation and the corresponding definitions of the individual patriotism and national identity symbols. As a means of developing an understanding of how the symbols were portrayed, the covers were also coded for tone. This entailed coding if the symbols were portrayed as positive, negative, or neutral. The appendix includes a full list of the coding categories, descriptions of the individual symbols, and visual examples of the symbols.

Patriotism and National Identity Symbols

Symbols are an important means of gaining insight into identity formation (Feinstein, 2001) and were therefore a relevant aspect of this study. Feinstein (2001) wrote: “Symbols are our mental equipment that informs our interpretation of events and suggest to us our range of possible reactions” (p. 7). One symbol can have a series of different meanings (Feinstein, 2001). For example, Feinstein explained that a flag is only a piece of fabric until someone gives it a certain meaning, and that “the content of the meaning depends both on inherited ideas and on the context in which the flag is displayed” (p. 7). Not only does this relate to the overall interpretation of German national identity symbols, but also to the German flag as one of the symbols of this study.

The country flag. Germany's flag consists of three horizontal stripes, in order of black (top), red, and gold/yellow (bottom) ("The flag of Germany – description of the flag," 2005). According to Feinstein (2001), the flag is "the natural expression of the people's will and the product of a genuine, selfless love of the nation" (p. 17). As part of the research of this study, the flag was coded in its varying shapes and forms. In addition, the former flag from East Germany, featuring the coat of arms of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), was coded and analyzed. The primary difference between the East and West German flags was the presence of the coat of arms.

The national colors. While the country flag is a longstanding image of Germany, the national colors, black, red, and yellow, also signify Germany's sense of identity. On a symbolic level, yellow stands for generosity, black symbolizes determination, and red is associated with "hardiness," "bravery," "strength," and "valor" ("The flag of Germany – description of the flag," 2005). For the coding process, all of the national colors had to be present on the covers and were coded in the context of Germany, but not pertaining to other countries that have similar national colors.

Political figures. From Konrad Adenauer to Angela Merkel, the first female chancellor of Germany (Beard, 2006), several key political figures have greatly influenced Germany and embody a sense of German national identity (O'Connell, 2009). For this study, political figures constituted German elected legislative or executive officials, including chancellors, mayors, vice chancellors, and heads of political parties. Political figures serve as the voice of a nation's people (Lucas, 2007), and to that effect are a public representation of a country and for what it stands.

Coat of arms. Not only are the national colors an important element of the country flag, but black, red, and yellow are also associated with one of the oldest existing state symbols of Europe: Germany's coat of arms ("Germany symbols," n.d.). Germany's current coat of arms features the image of a Weimar black eagle with spread wings within a yellow background ("Germany symbols," n.d.). In addition, the East German coat of arms from the GDR, which consists of a hammer and compass surrounded by a ring of rye ("East Germany 1949-1990," n.d.), was coded.

Other national symbols. Other national symbols that were coded and analyzed on *Der Spiegel* included depictions of Germany's national currency, namely the Deutsche Mark (D-Mark) and the Euro, iconic monuments such as the Brandenburg Gate, and historically relevant representations of Germany including Germania. Germania is not only an ancient region of central Europe ("Germania," n.d.), but also a painting of a woman standing in front of the German flag and wearing a cloak featuring an early image of Germany's coat of arms ("Germany: The revolution of 1848," n.d.). Other examples included the geographic shape of Germany and the image of a German passport.

Coding for Tone

Aside from coding for specific patriotism and national identity symbols, the covers were also coded for tone, namely positive, negative, or neutral (not clearly positive or negative). Since patriotism is the love of a country (Huang et al., 2006; Schaar, n.d.), thereby evoking positive feelings towards a nation, the range in tone was particularly evident in terms of national identity. While a sense of negative German national identity is often associated with German history, specifically the Holocaust

(Feldman, 2003), for this study, negative national identity was considered anything from negative German stereotypes to a critical viewpoint of German politicians. Positive national identity was attributed to pro-German ideals that encourage a sense of unity among Germans. This also included a certain pride in what a political figure represents for Germany. A neutral presence of national identity was considered as not being specifically positive or negative. Unlike the symbols of patriotism and national identity, which entailed specific definitions, the positive, negative, and neither positive nor negative frames were based on the subjective and emotional responses of the researcher and secondary coder. Due to the differences in how one might perceive positive or negative national identity, the results from the researcher and secondary coder were tested through the inter-coder reliability test and resulted in an 82% reliability agreement.

Germany's Historical Events

In analyzing the covers for symbols of patriotism and national identity, special attention was placed on covers published two years before and two years after specific major events in Germany. The events were chosen for their presumed influence on Germany's sense of national identity and expressions of patriotism since the magazine was first published. The events in Germany that served as a premise for revealing how *Der Spiegel* visually framed patriotism and national identity included: 1) the building of the Berlin Wall, 2) the reunification of Germany, 3) the adoption of the Euro in Germany, and 4) the 2006 World Cup.

The building of the Berlin Wall. Constructed on August 13, 1961, the Berlin Wall was intended to prevent East Germans from traveling to West Germany (Burgan, 2008). Not only did the division of Germany greatly impact the East and West German ways of life, but it also influenced Germans' perception of national identity as East and West Germans developed their own sense of "true Germany" (O'Connell, 2009). Due to the effects on a German's sense of self, the building of the Berlin Wall was an important historical event for the focus of this study in relation to the meaning of patriotism and national identity at the time, and how this was reflected in a primarily Western media source, *Der Spiegel* ("Der Spiegel," n.d.), during the time of a divided Germany.

The reunification of Germany. After a 28-year fight for the freedom to journey beyond a physical border, November 9, 1989, marked the reunification of Germany (Burgan, 2008). The fall of the Berlin Wall not only signified the end of the Cold War (Burgan, 2008), but also caused Germans to question their identification with their nation (Watson, 1992). According to Harold (1989), before the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany had the highest number of people who were not proud of their country.

The adoption of the Euro. Similar to the reunification of Germany, which paved the way for a reunified Germany, the adoption of the Euro, which officially took place on January 1, 2002, resulted in a unifying effect across Europe ("German and the Euro," n.d.). Prior to 2002, the Euro was primarily used for banknotes and stock market transactions ("German and the Euro," n.d.). Through a common currency, Germany hoped to protect its economic interests (Kaelberer, 2005). However, giving up the D-Mark also signified the loss of a national symbol (Kaelberer, 2005).

The 2006 World Cup. As millions of viewers around the world watched Germany and Costa Rica battle for the soccer ball at the 2006 World Cup (Beard, 2006), Germans were expressing a newfound pride in their country (Beard, 2006; Boyes, 2006). Compared to the 2006 World Cup, the reunification of Germany did not evoke such strong national pride (Boyes, 2006). Many compared the effects of the 2006 World Cup on the Germans' understanding of patriotism to the impact of Princess Diana's death on Britain (Boyes, 2006). The 2006 World Cup therefore became a "positive turning point in Germany's identity" (Inthorn, 2007, p. 182).

Intercoder Reliability

While a study of *Der Spiegel* covers through a qualitative analysis alone provided insight into the way that Germany perceives and portrays patriotism and national identity, quantitative research helped further explain the observations. As part of the quantitative analysis, the results gathered from coding the covers for patriotism and national identity symbols were entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

As a means of supporting and comparing the data collected, this study sought to demonstrate inter-coder reliability by training a second coder. By providing the definitions of the symbols of patriotism and national identity, the secondary coder coded 10% of *Der Spiegel* covers. The secondary coder was given 52 covers pertaining to a particular year for event one (the building of the Berlin Wall), as well as 52 covers pertaining to a particular year for event two (the reunification of Germany). The data collected from the primary researcher and secondary coder was compared through the Scott's pi formula as referenced in Baxter and Babbie (2003):

$$\text{Pi} = \frac{\% \text{ of agreement observed} - \% \text{ of agreement expected}}{1 - \% \text{ of agreement expected for each coder}}$$

Two out of the eight variables had a Scott's pi of .1 (100%), while the reliability agreement of the remaining six variables was between .82 (82%) and .92 (92%). The appendix includes a complete list of the coding measures and the Scott's pi results for each of the variables.

In addition, *t*-tests were conducted for this study as a means of comparing the statistical significance between two time periods that related to a specific event in order to determine whether there was a significant difference in the number of symbols of patriotism and national identity before versus after one of the four chosen events. To test the statistical difference in data between all of the four events, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The following chapter provides the results from the quantitative data and qualitative observations.

Chapter IV

Results

A total of 1,104 covers were coded, of which 295 presented a form of patriotism or national identity, or both. Of those 295 covers, 85.5% had national identity symbols, 3% patriotism, and 11.2% showed forms of both patriotism and national identity. Of the 343 symbols, 61% were political figures, 19.3% other, 16.6% country flag, 12.5% coat of arms, 9.2% national colors, and 4.7% were unable to be determined.

The results of the quantitative research showed that two out of the four hypotheses were supported. Hypothesis 2 was confirmed, which showed that there was an increase in the five national identity symbols from 1947 to 2009: political figures ($F = 3.494, p = .015$), flag ($F = 4.587, p = .003$), colors ($F = 5.175, p = .001$), coat of arms ($F = 5.031, p = .002$), and other ($F = 3.560, p = .014$). The full results are shown in Table 3 on page 65. Hypothesis 4 was also confirmed, which revealed that there was an increase in patriotism and national identity symbols after three out of the four events. From the events, the adoption of the Euro did not show an increase in symbols after the event. The results of hypothesis 4 nevertheless indicated that the reunification of Germany had an increase in two out of the five symbols: coat of arms ($t = -3.836, p = .001$), and other ($t = -3.401, p = .001$). However, the statistical results showed that there was no increase in political figures ($t = 1.697, p = .091$), flag ($t = -1.899, p = .059$), and colors ($t = -.731, p = .465$). See Table 4 on page 86 for the full results. However, two hypotheses did not show statistical significance to support the predicted findings and were therefore not confirmed. Hypothesis 1 pertained to the

increase in patriotism symbols over time and was disproved based on the statistical results. As part of hypothesis 3, it was expected that the flag would be the most common form of patriotism and national identity on the covers. Yet, the results showed that political figures were most used on the covers.

The major findings from the qualitative analysis revealed that *Der Spiegel's* earlier covers primarily portrayed images of political figures as a form of national identity. It was also determined that overall depictions of the German flag and national colors were displayed in subtle contexts. Rather than print a full-page spread of the German flag, the covers would tend to use the flag for symbolic meanings, for example in the form of a tie around the neck of a particular politician. Similarly, the national colors were often used for the cover lines. The qualitative observations also revealed that most occurrences of the German coat of arms had a negative connotation. Lastly, the most common forms of symbols coded as other were in the form of major historical monuments in Germany. The qualitative research not only supported some of the quantitative results, but also provided additional insight into the importance of magazine covers in portraying certain events to readers.

The first part of the results chapter provides a historical look at the gradual changes in design elements used on *Der Spiegel* covers starting in 1947. This helps provide context for how *Der Spiegel* uses design and visuals to display a certain topic. This is followed by discussions of each of the four hypotheses, with breakdowns of the quantitative results and the qualitative observations. The quantitative sections include graphs and tables that help explain the numerical results. The qualitative analyses

include cover images of *Der Spiegel* to provide visual examples of symbols of patriotism and national identity that are depicted on the covers.

A Short History of *Der Spiegel*'s Cover Designs

When *Der Spiegel* was first printed in 1947, the covers featured a thick red border at the top and bottom of the page. Each of the black-and-white horizontal photos in the first year of publication was of influential international individuals at the time. Printed below the photos and illustrations were the cover lines, which were in the form of photo captions. A photo caption is defined as a sentence or line of text that describes the photo (Harrower, 2008). Issue 15 (Figure 1) is an example of one of the earlier covers of 1947, in which the cover lines consisted of a key phrase pertaining to the image which was further explained by a short description of the photo.



Figure 1: Issue 15, 1947

© 15 (1947) DER SPIEGEL

Although the majority of early covers had close-up photos of individuals, most of which did not appear staged, the later covers in 1947 also featured illustrations of particular individuals. Most of the time, the photos or illustrations were contained within the red border. However, on certain covers, parts of the pictured individual extended beyond the top of the red frame, covering part of the nameplate. This is an example of a cutout or silhouette in which some of the background of a photo is removed (Harrower, 2008). In comparison to the small font size of the photo caption, the nameplate was considerably larger and written across two lines in the upper right-hand corner of the cover of *Der Spiegel*. The nameplate, which is also referred to as the “flag,” is the official name of a publication (Harrower, 2008). Despite the thick lettering of the nameplate, *Der Spiegel* visually experimented with kerning, which is altering the space between letters (Bear, n.d.). On the covers of 1947 there was an uneven space between some of the letters, particularly between the letter “I” and the letter “P” in the word “Spiegel.” Between 1947 and 1959, the spacing between the nameplate letters as well as other features on the covers began to transform, while design elements like the font of the titles, and photo captions remained unchanged.

In contrast to the small photos and thick red frame of 1947, on the covers of 1959, the red frame significantly widened and thinned down, completely encasing the cover photo that also increased in size. The cover photos no longer occupied the center section of the page like on Issue 15 (Figure 1), but expanded across the entire cover. While the cover lines on the covers of 1959 remained relatively similar to the covers of 1947, the size of the nameplate drastically decreased, fitting onto one line across the top left-hand

corner of the magazine. This is the nameplate design consistent with today's covers of *Der Spiegel*. Although the majority of covers of 1959 featured black-and-white close-up photos of the faces, *Der Spiegel* also began to incorporate more color into the cover images, beyond the bright red frame, as shown on Issue 27 (Figure 2).

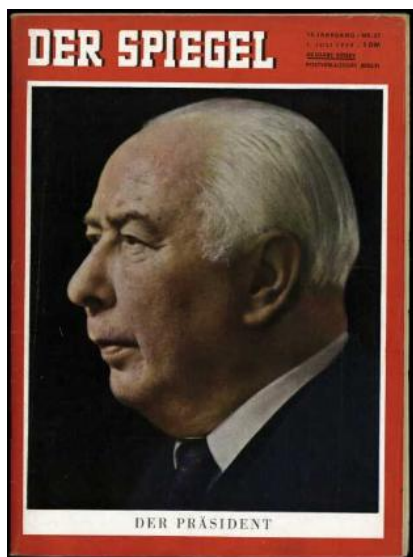


Figure 2: Issue 27, 1959

© 27 (1959) DER SPIEGEL

Another significant design change was the introduction of the yellow diagonal corner banner that wrapped around either the left or right-bottom corner of the cover. At first the banners served as a platform on which to display the cover lines, as opposed to placing the cover lines beneath the photo. Yet, in the following years, starting around 1960, the banners promoted specific stories featured in the issue that were not necessarily related to the cover image. Issue 40 (Figure 3) shows an example of the use of the banner on a 1961 cover, in which the banner is used for the cover lines. Between 1961 and 1962, there was a particularly strong presence of the yellow banners on the covers. The

banners began to change location from the mainly bottom right-hand corner as seen on Issue 40 (Figure 3), to the bottom and upper left-hand corners of the magazine.

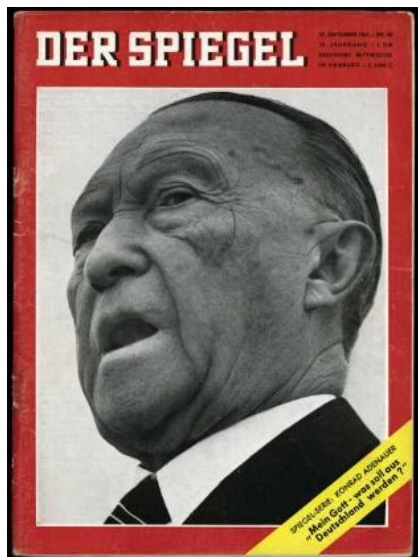


Figure 3: Issue 40, 1961

© 40 (1961) DER SPIEGEL

Another major, yet not as easily noticeable, change in design elements was the kerning between each of the letters of the nameplate. In 1962 the letters in the nameplate were evenly spaced. More specifically, the letter “P” no longer overshadowed the letter “T” in “Spiegel” as was initially present on the earlier covers, especially in 1947. Aside from minor spacing alterations, *Der Spiegel* also started to change the cover line size, location, color, and length, particularly on the covers of 1963, like on Issue 39 (Figure 4). The cover line, which mentions the name of the individual on the cover, Herbert Wehner, is depicted in bold white letters at the bottom left-hand corner. This was contrary to the traditionally small black type of the cover lines on the earlier covers, which were centered underneath the photos. The alterations in the appearance and word choice of the

cover lines continued into the 1980s, during which time the covers featured elements that reflected the newest design techniques used within the magazine industry.

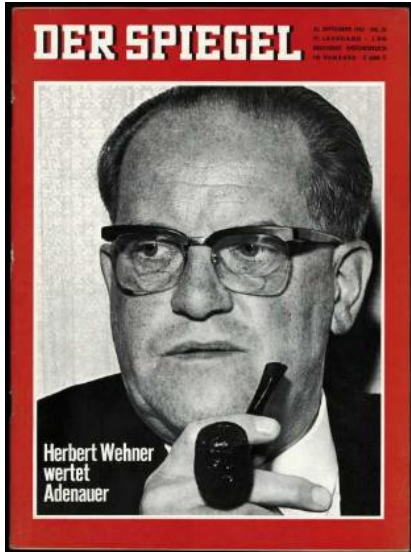


Figure 4: Issue 39, 1963

© 39 (1963) DER SPIEGEL

The late 1980s signified a major change in the elements of design of *Der Spiegel* covers. Some of these changes were reminiscent of the earlier covers, while others were entirely new techniques that continued to draw the readers to the magazine. Aside from the main topic that varied from cover to cover, the overall layout of the covers in the 1980s remained fairly similar to the 1960s, including the size and font of the nameplate and the profile-sized photos, as shown on Issue 14 (Figure 5). Yet, unlike the primarily black-and-white cover photos of the 1960s, the images on the covers of 1987 and onward were mainly presented in color. On Issue 14 (Figure 5), the main headline appears bolder and larger, extending across the entire bottom of the photo. In addition, the cover lines

no longer just listed the name of the person on the cover, but incorporated short yet catchy key phrases that drew attention to the main story.

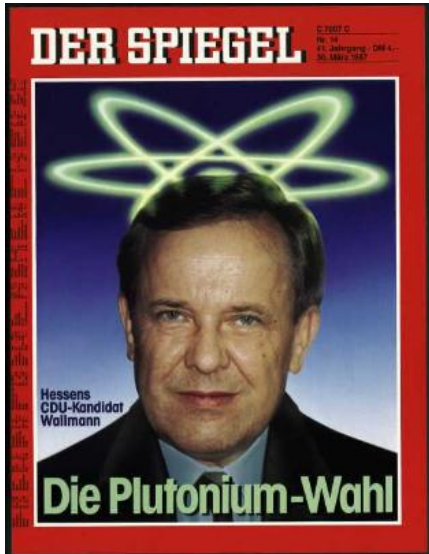


Figure 5: Issue 14, 1987

© 14 (1987) DER SPIEGEL

Another alteration in the minor elements was in the application of the yellow banner, which began to transform, particularly in color and location. The color of the banners ranged from purple to green, residing on one of the four corners of *Der Spiegel*, and at times placed diagonally on top of the nameplate, for example Issue 45 (Figure 6). In other instances, the banners were not present on the covers, like on Issue 14 (Figure 5). The use of the banner motif continued to develop on the covers into the year 2000, in which the banner on the covers was in the foreground of the photo.



Figure 6: Issue 45, 1988

© 45 (1988) DER SPIEGEL

Aside from the modifications in certain visual techniques over the years, *Der Spiegel* continued to employ the same overall arrangement of elements, with only minor differences between covers. For example, *Der Spiegel* began applying a variety of effects to the covers in early 2000, including extending parts of the photo beyond the left and right side of the red frame, as well as combining multiple images into one larger photo. The covers no longer mainly depicted close-up photos of a person directly facing the readers, but began to include full body images. Additionally, *Der Spiegel* experimented with the color of the frame, which changed from a bright red to a slightly orange-red to an entirely orange frame that surrounds the photos on today's covers like Issue 3 (Figure 7). The red frame, or the orange frame as on Issue 3 (Figure 7), is one of *Der Spiegel's* design features that dates back to 1947.



Figure 7: Issue 3, 2009

© 3 (2009) DER SPIEGEL

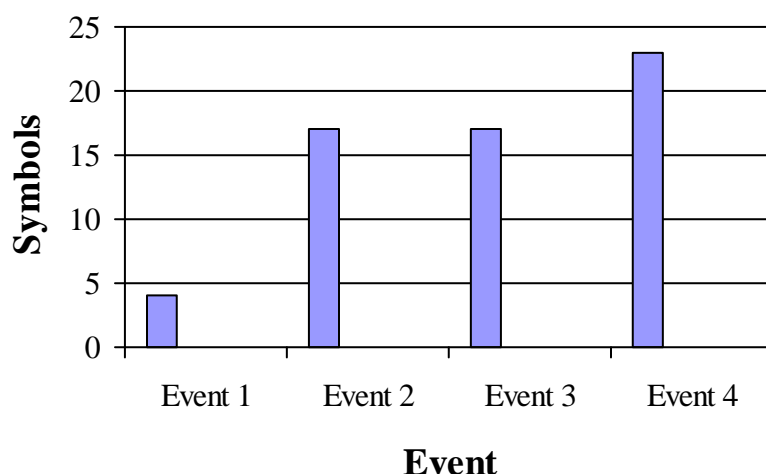
From captivating headlines to colorful main images, the covers have greatly evolved over the past half-century. Comparing the cover from 1947 (Figure 1) to the cover from 2009 (Figure 7), several aspects, including the frame, have remained a vital part of the cover-style through the years, while other transitioning components have highlighted the artistic attributes of the illustrators at the time. Although many of the major changes in design, including switching from black-and-white to color photos and extending the dimensions of the red frame, occurred in the early years of publication, the transitioning combination of elements nevertheless transformed the way in which the cover themes were presented to the public. By focusing on adjusting minor characteristics of the layout, such as replacing the small photo captions with larger and more colorful headlines, and changing the orientation of the banners, *Der Spiegel* still kept its main elements that helped accentuate the face on the cover. The transformation

in layout provided additional insight into the role of design in relation to the theme of this study, namely how *Der Spiegel* portrayed patriotism and national identity through particular visual practices. While the previous section of this study provided a brief look into *Der Spiegel*'s design changes from 1947 to 2009, the following section consists of the results of the four hypotheses with numerical data, including graphs and tables, as well as visual observations that either support or disprove the original expected outcome.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The number of symbols of German patriotism on the covers of *Der Spiegel* will increase across the four seminal events and the associated years. This hypothesis was not confirmed.

Quantitative results. From the 295 covers across all four events, there were a total of 343 symbols, of which 82.2% were national identity, 5% were patriotism, and 12.8% were both patriotism and national identity. The symbols of patriotism that were analyzed included the symbols that were coded as patriotism and presented some form of national identity. This provided a more substantial amount of data, for a total of 61 symbols. Based on Graph 1, there was a gradual increase in patriotism symbols across the four events. The graph shows that between event two and event three, there was a constant number of symbols which increased in the fourth event. According to Graph 1, the 2006 World Cup portrayed the greatest number of patriotism symbols.



Graph 1

Number of Patriotism Symbols across Events

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

To confirm the increase in symbols across the events, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Although Graph 1 shows an increase in patriotism symbols, the ANOVA results indicated that there was no statistical significance in the increase in symbols, which does not support the hypothesis. Based on the lack of statistical significance, the events did not cause an increase in patriotism symbols.

From the 61 patriotism symbols, the most readily employed symbols were political figures (31.1%), and the second two most common symbols were the flag (24.6%) and other (24.6%). The least present symbols were the coat of arms (11.5%) and colors (8.2%). However, these percentages are the total number of each patriotism symbol from event one to event four. Some symbols of patriotism were used more in relation to certain events than others. Table 1 shows the number of individual symbols in percentages in relation to each event. As Table 1 indicates, in the first event, the building

of the Berlin Wall, the greatest number of symbols was political figures. Yet, the subsequent events indicate a fluctuating increase in the presence of political figures. The political figures decreased in numbers between the first two events, dropping from 50% in event one to 29.4% in event two. The percentages of political figures remained constant between event two and three at 29.4% and increased in event four to 30.4%.

While there was a strong presence of political figures in event one, Table 1 also shows that there was no presence of the flag or colors until event two. However, there was a fluctuating increase in the colors, coat of arms, and symbols coded as other across the events. There was an exception with the flag, which gradually increased from event one, in which there were none, to event four, in which 34.8% of the symbols were flags. While the flag was greatest during event four, the presence of the coat of arms was particularly strong in event one. Looking at the percentages of symbols within the events alone, the greatest number of symbols in each event varied. For example, for two events, event one and event four, the highest percentages of symbols were political figures. For event three, there was a tie between political figures and symbols coded as other at 29.4% as shown in Table 1.

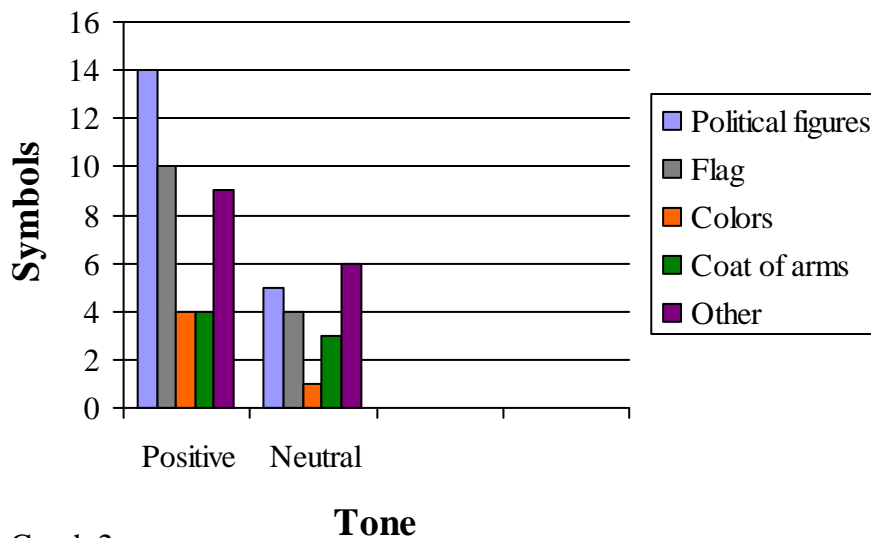
Table 1

Number of Patriotism Symbols in Percentages in Relation to Events

Symbols	Event 1 (n = 4)	Event 2 (n = 17)	Event 3 (n = 17)	Event 4 (n = 23)
Political figures	50%	29.4%	29.4%	30.4%
Flag	0	17.6	23.5	34.8
Colors	0	5.9	11.8	8.7
Coat of arms	25	23.5	5.9	4.3
Other	25	23.5	29.4	21.7

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

In order to get a sense of how the symbols of patriotism were portrayed, the tone of each symbol was identified, as shown in Graph 2. Patriotism is the love of a country (Huang et al., 2006; Schaar, n.d.). Therefore, the majority of patriotism symbols, specifically 68.8% were coded as positive and 31.1% were neutral.



Graph 2

Total Tone of Patriotism Symbols across Events

The graph reveals that the strongest forms of both positive and not necessarily positive or negative symbols were political figures, the flag, and symbols identified as other. The graph also shows that political figures were the most common positive symbol. On the other hand, the greatest number of symbols that were considered not necessarily positive or negative was the symbols coded as other. Political figures were the second greatest neutral symbols, followed by the flag. The remaining two symbols, the coat of arms and colors, were equally positive across the events. However, the coat of arms and colors greatly varied as neutral symbols. As opposed to the colors, there were more coat of arms as neutral symbols. Although the quantitative data did not show an increase in patriotism symbols across the four events, the qualitative observations nevertheless provided insight into the visual forms of patriotism.

Qualitative results. During *Der Spiegel's* first year of publication, the majority of covers featured a black-and-white photo of an influential figure, from former United States President Harry Truman to German politician Max Reimann. In 1947, the only presence of color on the covers was the bright red border that framed the grayscale images. The photos printed on the covers were mostly profile images featuring a headshot or an image of the person's upper body, thereby drawing focus to the individual's facial expressions. As a result, the close-up images of the politicians, whereby the face or the upper body occupied 70% to 80% of the page, resulted in a memorable impact on the readers. The depiction of political figures was not only relevant in terms of the magazine's design, but also as a form of patriotism. It was during the first event, the building of the Berlin Wall, that the covers of *Der Spiegel* that were

considered visually “patriotic” primarily presented the main symbol of patriotism at the time, namely politicians.

From featuring a new chancellor to highlighting the major achievements of a political party leader, the covers that were patriotic often depicted political figures in a positive manner. By printing photos of politicians in a positive light, such as looking particularly friendly or professional, *Der Spiegel* revealed a sense of pride in Germany’s politicians. For example, Issue 15 (Figure 8) features a close-up photo of the newest leader of the Christian Social Union (CSU) political party at the time, Franz Josef Strauss, looking particularly happy. Even though Strauss is not looking directly at the readers, he still exudes a positive attitude to the target readership, the German public. By capturing Strauss in his natural environment, the photo does not appear staged, thereby accentuating Strauss as a positive symbol of Germany.

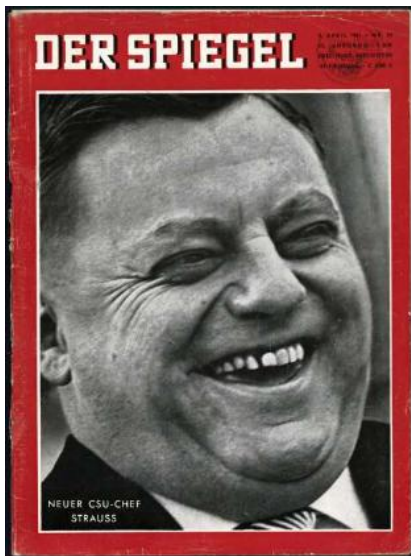


Figure 8: Issue 15, 1961

© 15 (1961) DER SPIEGEL

While the building of the Berlin Wall and the years associated with the event strictly highlighted the influential political figures at the time, the reunification of Germany marked a new form of visual patriotism on the covers of *Der Spiegel*. In comparison to the covers of the 1950s, the late 1980s presented new design techniques that altered the look of the patriotism symbols by incorporating more diverse background images and applying a range of photo angles such as full body images. Rather than merely featuring a close-up of one politician, the later covers often portrayed political figures in relation to other symbols such as the flag or the coat of arms, or with a politician from a different party. Yet, similar to 1959, many of the covers revealed a sense of patriotism by depicting politicians in a positive way. However, the later covers also presented more visual instances of the German flag and national colors.

While certain covers depicted an image of the flag spread across the entire page, the flag was typically pictured in the context of a specific theme or topic, whether in the form of a tie dangling around the neck of a politician, or printed on the diaper of a toddler. For example, Issue 52 (Figure 9) depicts the flag in the shape of a ribbon wrapped around the Brandenburg Gate. The flag not only highlights the historic monument that represents German history, but also symbolizes the unveiling of a new reunited Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

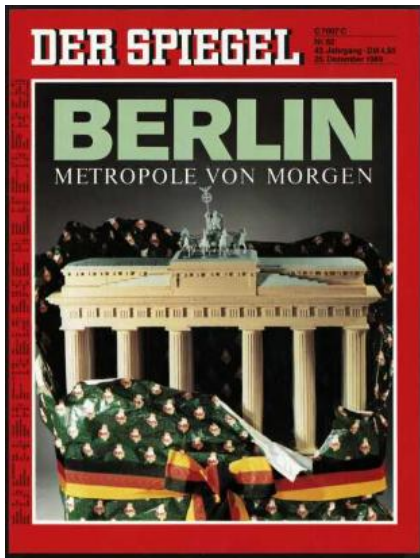


Figure 9: Issue 52, 1989

© 52 (1989) DER SPIEGEL

Similar to the flag, the symbols categorized as other were often displayed in varying contexts, from a D-Mark to the Brandenburg Gate. On the other hand, the national colors were commonly used for one particular design element, namely as part of the cover lines. At times the colors were not immediately apparent, but nonetheless helped emphasize the meaning behind the cover image, while at the same time alluding to a sense of German pride. For example, on Issue 44 (Figure 10) the national colors are spread out across the cover. The black is symbolized by the darkness of night, and the yellow and red are exhibited within the main headline “Volk Ohne Angst” (People without Fear). The combination of the cover line and the crowd marching in unison reiterates the people’s collaborative efforts as a German community fighting for their rights in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) before the fall of the Berlin Wall.



Figure 10: Issue 44, 1989

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Der Spiegel continued to present an increasing number of patriotism symbols across the four events. Yet, the coat of arms rarely appeared on the covers and usually consisted of the Weimar eagle without the yellow background. When the coat of arms did appear, the German eagle at times represented a certain strength and valor, as seen on Issue 26 (Figure 11), in which the Weimar eagle is perched on the Brandenburg Gate with the words “Der deutsche Kraftakt” (German Feat of Strength) printed across the top.

The image of the eagle dates as far back as 800 AD, when the single-headed eagle was a symbol of imperial power (“The federal eagle,” n.d.). The eagle is not only representative of a historical symbol, but it was also a part of the imperial coat of arms of the German Empire, and was retained during the Weimar Republic (“Federal coat of arms,” n.d.). The Weimar Republic was the government of Germany from 1919 to 1933 (“Weimar Republic,” n.d.). The first version of the black eagle on the coat of arms was

regarded as the “Reichsadler” (Reich Eagle), and was later coined the Weimar eagle during the Weimar Republic (“Federal coat of arms,” n.d.). The Weimar Republic, which developed after Germany was defeated in World War I, was met with harsh economic times including inflation (Bookbinder, 1996). The early 1920s nevertheless marked a sense of creativity in the Weimar culture, particularly in the form of poetry and art (Gay, 2001). While expressionist painters and poets dominated the cultural scene of the Weimar Republic (Gay, 2001), the initial designs of Germany’s coat of arms was developed during the Weimar period (“Federal coat of arms,” n.d.). Although Issue 26 (Figure 11) is not a direct reference to the Weimar period, the cover emphasizes the role of the coat of arms in Berlin since the reunification. There is nevertheless a strong presence of the Weimar eagle on the cover, that reiterates the pride in Germany.



Figure 11: Issue 26, 1991

© 26 (1991) DER SPIEGEL

As the results indicate, during the first event, the building of the Berlin Wall, *Der Spiegel* focused more on the political climate of Germany. As the years progressed, the symbols of patriotism on *Der Spiegel* more closely resembled what signifies patriotism today, such as flying a country flag. The strong visual use of flags and overall patriotism symbols only began with the reunification of Germany in 1989, and continued to recur in the following years. The covers pertaining to the 2006 World Cup had a particularly strong presence of patriotism symbols. The visual form of patriotism in the year 2006 ranged from the overall success of the 2006 World Cup in terms of how Germans view themselves to the support of a political figure. For example, Issue 17 (Figure 12) depicts the Federal Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Ursula von der Leyen, as part of a family portrait. The fact that the cover states “Ich bin Deutschland” (I Am Germany) reveals von der Leyen’s pride in being part of the German family. The cover is not focusing on patriotism in the sense of portraying the flag and national colors, but rather on specific aspects of the lifestyle in Germany, including kids, church, and career. Whether discussing the role of a recently appointed political figure or the development of the German household, the meaning of patriotism greatly varied between covers, but, nevertheless, emphasized pride in the German way of life.



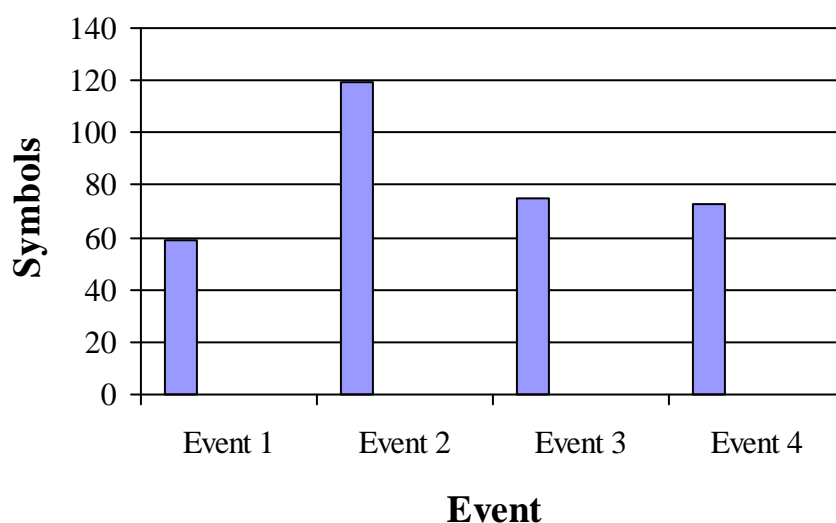
Figure 12: Issue 17, 2006

© 17 (2006) DER SPIEGEL

Hypothesis 2. The number of symbols of German national identity on the covers of *Der Spiegel* will increase across the four seminal events and the associated years. This hypothesis was confirmed.

Quantitative results. There were a total of 326 symbols of national identity of which 51.2% were political figures, 17.5% other, 13.2% the German flag, 10.4% the coat of arms, and 7.7% the national colors. The national identity data also included the covers that had a combination of patriotism and national identity symbols. Based on the data, there was a fluctuation in the increase in national identity symbols. Graph 2 shows that the number of symbols significantly increased from event one to event two, but then decreased from event two to event three. The number of symbols remained fairly constant between events three and four, with only a small decrease in symbols. Nevertheless, as the graph indicates, there was an overall increase in symbols,

especially in relation to the first and fourth event, in that there were more symbols of national identity in event four than there were in event one. Unlike the symbols of patriotism, which were greatest during the fourth event, the 2006 World Cup, Graph 3 shows that the greatest number of national identity symbols occurred during event two, the reunification of Germany.



Graph 3

Number of National Identity Symbols across Events

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

The fluctuating increase in symbols between the four events is further broken down in Table 2, which lists the percentages of the five symbols occurring around each of the events. As shown in Table 2, the political figures symbol was the most readily used symbol within each event, while the coat of arms and national colors were generally the least common used symbols on the covers. Yet, while the majority of symbols increased from event one to event two, the number of political figures decreased from 84.7% to

43.7%. The percentage of political figures was strongest during event one, after which the numbers fluctuated between event two and event four. On the other hand, the flag and symbols identified as other showed a steady increase in numbers across the events. While the flag was used most frequently during event four at 17.8%, the symbols as other revealed a sudden drop in frequency during the last event, the 2006 World Cup, and were greatest in frequency during event three. The two remaining symbols, the colors and coat of arms had the strongest fluctuations in percentages, increasing and decreasing with every given event, with a peak in numbers during event two.

Table 2

Number of National Identity Symbols in Percentages in Relation to Events

Symbols	Event 1 (n = 59)	Event 2 (n = 119)	Event 3 (n = 75)	Event 4 (n = 73)
Political figures	84.7%	43.7%	44%	43.8%
Flag	1.7	14.3	16	17.8
Colors	1.7	11.8	5.3	8.2
Coat of arms	5.1	14.3	9.3	9.6
Other	6.8	16	25.3	20.5

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

To determine the significance of national identity symbols between the events, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The results of the ANOVA calculations are listed in Table 3, which shows the statistical significance of the data. Table 3 indicates that there was a statistical significance in the increased frequency of political figures, flag, colors, coat of arms, and other.

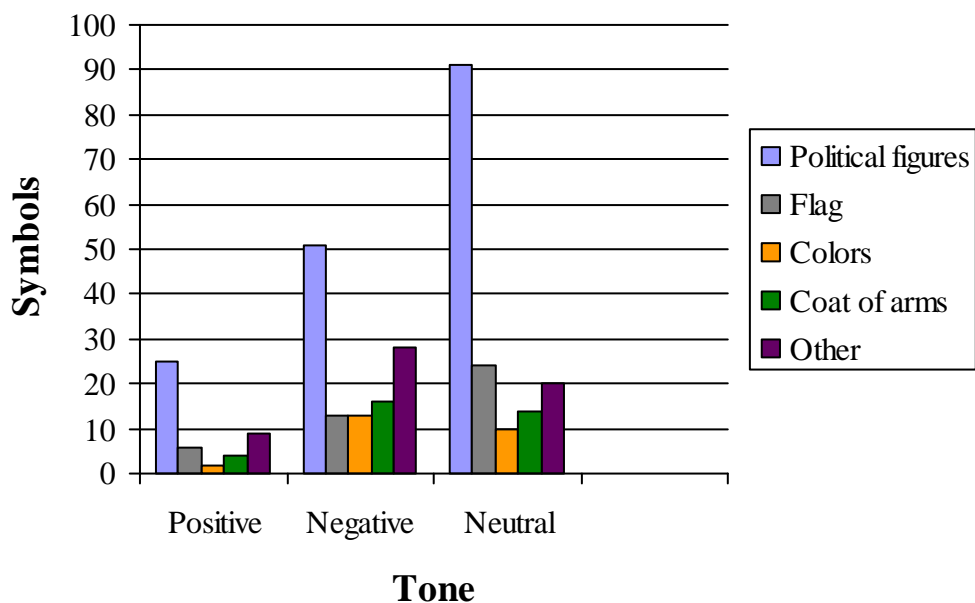
Table 3

One-Way Analysis of Variance of National Identity Symbols between Events

Symbols	1	2	3	4	df	MS	F	p
Between groups								
Political figures	.19	.20	.13	.12	3	.464	3.494	.015
Flag	.00	.07	.05	.05	3	.178	4.587	.003
Colors	.00	.05	.02	.02	3	.119	5.175	.001
Coat of arms	.01	.07	.03	.03	3	.160	5.031	.002
Other	.02	.07	.07	.06	3	.178	3.560	.014

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

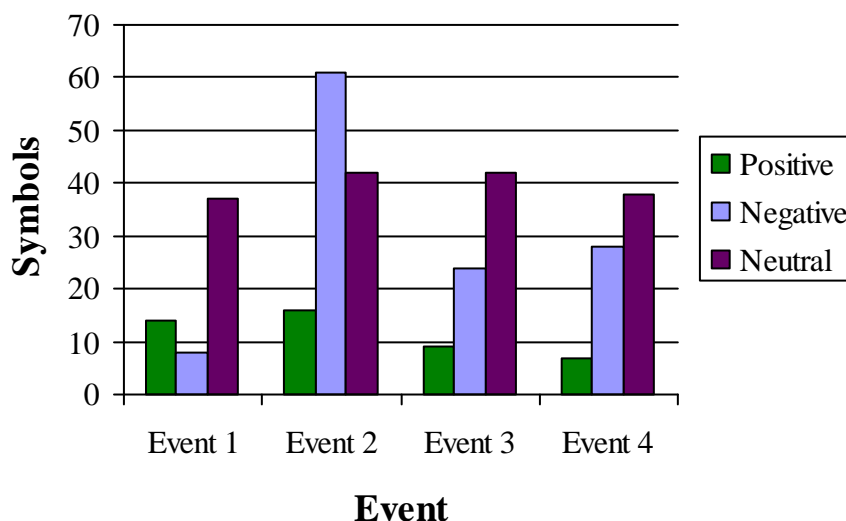
Not only did the four events demonstrate an increase in the use of symbols, but the tone, the way in which national identity was depicted, also played a role in the overall significance of the symbols. While the patriotism symbols were, for the most part, portrayed in a positive way and encouraged a certain German pride, the depiction of the national identity symbols ranged from positive to negative to neutral. Of the 326 symbols of national identity, 48.8% of symbols were not necessarily positive or negative. Of the remaining symbols, 37.1% were negative and 14.1% were positive. Graph 4 indicates the tone of each of the five symbols across the four events that were categorized as positive, negative or not necessarily positive or negative (neutral).



Graph 4

Total Tone of National Identity Symbols

Due to the significant presence of political figures as the major national identity symbol, as revealed in Table 2 on page 64, the politicians' category also presented the greatest range in tone as shown in Graph 4. The majority of political figure and flag symbols were neutral in tone and the least number were positive in tone. On the contrary, the majority of the remaining symbols, colors, coat of arms, and symbols coded as other were mostly negative. In all cases, each of the symbols had the least number of positive instances in relation to the events. While Graph 4 entails the total tone of national identity symbols across the events, Graph 5 shows the total number of positive, negative, and neutral symbols by event.



Graph 5

Tone of National Identity Symbols by Event

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

Graph 5 shows that the tone of the symbols across the events varied, especially those that were coded as negative. From event one to event four, the neutral symbols remained relatively constant, ranging between 37 and 42 symbols per event and the associated years. Based on the graph, the number of positive symbols changed slightly between events. On the other hand, the negative symbols varied greatly between events and were significantly strong in event two, the reunification of Germany, contrary to what was originally anticipated. From the 61 negative symbols in event two, political figures (39.3%) and other (19.7%) were most strongly present, followed by the coat of arms (14.8%), colors (14.8%), and flag (11.5%). However, event two also had the strongest presence of positive symbols of all the events, of which political figures were most common (43.7%), followed by the coat of arms (18.7%), other (18.7%), flag

(12.5%), and national colors (6.3%). The graph also reveals that the first event had the second highest number of positive symbols, but the least number of negative symbols.

Since event two had the overall highest number of total symbols across all events (Graph 5), there were also a greater number of symbols within each of the categories (Table 2). This can be attributed to the significant range in the positive, negative, and neutral symbols that occurred within event two. Despite the fluctuation in the number of national identity symbols and the overall tone across the four events, the quantitative results also contribute some details about the visual forms of national identity.

Qualitative results. In the first few years of print, at about the time when the Berlin Wall was being built in 1961, national identity on the covers pertained to political figures and how they represented a former war-torn country. At that time *Der Spiegel* did not necessarily portray politicians in a positive or negative light, but rather focused on what the different individuals on the covers meant for Germany. Certain covers showed clear criticism of or favoritism for particular politicians. However, the majority of covers from 1959 to 1963 presented a neutral view of politicians. This was often accomplished by presenting a certain everyman aspect to the individuals pictured on *Der Spiegel*, focusing less on their position within a specific organization and rather as a member of the German public. By doing so, *Der Spiegel* concentrated all of the visual emphasis on the individuals being shown on the covers with simplistic yet important details. This included featuring close-up photos of politicians with either a simple gray background or a memorable image pertaining to the cover topic.

Later covers, particularly around the reunification of Germany, not only presented a greater range in overall symbols, but also in positive, negative, and neutral representations of symbols, especially political figures. During this period, covers included symbolic representations of political figures' associations with a particular political party. The forms of visual symbolism ranged from political party abbreviations, including the letters SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) printed across the cover, to boldly stated metaphors, such as the image of a green blanket wrapped around the co-founder of the Green Party, Jutta Ditfurth on Issue 20 (Figure 13). Ditfurth appears almost superhero-like with her green cape and the words "Atomkraft: Nein Danke" (Nuclear Power: No Thank You), which not only highlights her strength and beliefs as a member of the Green Party, but also what she represents for Germany as a whole.



Figure 13: Issue 20, 1987

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While *Der Spiegel* often praised the faces on the covers, it also questioned politicians' goals of improving Germany. Despite the fact that the reunification of Germany marked a positive turning point in Germany's history, *Der Spiegel* nevertheless became critical of certain political figures who were representing Germany at the time. Aside from portraying political figures as caricatures, the covers also attributed a certain child-like demeanor to a politician's actions, such as displayed on Issue 10 (Figure 14) and Issue 49 (Figure 15). Whether it is former Minister of Treasury, Gerhard Stoltenberg, who is pictured on the cover blowing bubbles, or the current Chancellor Angela Merkel, who is shown pouting in the corner of a room, *Der Spiegel* is openly critical of their decisions. Apart from depicting certain individuals in an uncompromising way, some of the other national identity symbols, including the use of the coat of arms, also alluded to an unfavorable and disapproving undertone.



Figure 14: Issue 10, 1987

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Figure 15: Issue 49, 2008

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Despite the decreasing presence of Germany's coat of arms following the reunification of Germany, the image of the Weimar eagle nevertheless represented Germany in a wide range of contexts. The portrayal of the eagle as a form of national identity was negative for the majority of covers, as seen in Graph 4 on page 66. The Weimar eagle often referenced a sense of hopelessness, fear, and frustration among Germans. In other instances, the Weimar eagle was paired with the image of the national colors or a politician. Yet, with the newly reunified Germany, the coat of arms of the GDR also subtly appeared as a symbol alluding to Germany's past. At times, the GDR coat of arms was not immediately recognizable. In context, the coat of arms often referenced the end of the GDR, like the crumbling coat of arms on Issue 45 (Figure 16).



Figure 16: Issue 45, 1989

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Unlike today's coat of arms, which features the Weimar eagle, the coat of arms from the GDR consisted of a hammer and compass surrounded by a ring of rye ("East Germany 1949-1990," n.d.). Symbolically, the coat of arms stood for the "working class," "intelligentsia," and "farmers" ("East Germany 1949-1990," n.d.). In 1950, the GDR coat of arms was added to the flag of East Germany ("East Germany 1949-1990," n.d.), as seen pictured on the red horizontal stripe on each of the five flags on Issue 45 (Figure 16). In a similar sense, the Nazi Party added a swastika to the coat of arms beneath the Weimar eagle during Hitler's reign ("The federal eagle," n.d.), as shown on Issue 19 (Figure 17).

Although the Nazi version of the coat of arms was long retired, Issue 19 (Figure 17) is a reflection of the past and the shadow that Hitler continues to cast on Germany, which is described as "Hitler's Langer Schatten" (Hitler's Long Shadow). In

other words, *Der Spiegel* is discussing “Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit” (The Presence of the Past) in today’s and tomorrow’s Germany. While the cover reflects national identity in relation to Germany’s history and controversial figures, it was around the reunification of Germany that a new visual form of national identity was initially taking shape, as more symbols began appearing with every issue.



Figure 17: Issue 19, 2001

© 19 (2001) DER SPIEGEL

From the Brandenburg Gate to a German passport, *Der Spiegel* presented a wide range of symbols categorized as other. Of the total number of symbols coded for 1989, the tone of the national identity symbols that were identified as other were often depicted in a negative light (Graph 4 on page 66). This was particularly true of Germany’s geographic shape and the national currency, including the D-Mark and the Euro. Although the image of German currency was hardly present on the covers at the time of the building of the Berlin Wall, the D-Mark, and later the Euro, were often depicted in

varying forms, from political bribery to embezzlement. Sometimes *Der Spiegel* would combine the geographic shape of Germany with the image of currency as a means of emphasizing certain points through the significance of visual elements alone. As an individual symbol, the geographic shape of Germany was often depicted in the form of a tree, as seen on Issue 39 (Figure 18). The tree is lacking a significant portion of leaves at its top, with individuals representing political parties, unions, and bureaucrats in Germany stifling the tree's growth with a rope tied around its base. Here, the tree represents the larger concept of a throttled Germany. In a similar sense, symbols like the flag and colors were often used to emphasize the hidden significance of the cover theme.



Figure 18: Issue 39, 2002

© 39 (2002) DER SPIEGEL

Like the patriotic covers from the late 1980s, the German flag and national colors not only began to steadily appear after the reunification of Germany, but also alluded to the larger ideas printed on the covers. The flag alone signified something positive, but in the context of the covers, the flags could represent anything from capitalism to Germans'

lack of motivation. At times, the flag was not merely a background element of the overall larger image, but instead occupied a significant amount of space on *Der Spiegel* covers, extending to around 40% to 50% across the page. On the other hand, the German colors would not particularly visually stand out, but instead added subtle meaning to the different cover components. Similar to the patriotic covers, the colors as a symbol of national identity would blend in with the various elements to emphasize the cover topics.

As the qualitative research shows, the representation of each of the symbols of national identity, aside from political figures, remained visually similar across the later events of this study. Regardless of presentation, each of the symbols on the covers presented bold and meaningful statements about Germany over time that together helped define what constitutes German identity.

Hypothesis 3. The German flag and colors are the visual forms of patriotism and national identity that are used most commonly on the covers of *Der Spiegel* for the chosen events, as opposed to the symbols of the coat of arms, political figures, and symbols as other. This hypothesis was not confirmed.

Quantitative results. From the 343 patriotism and national identity symbols, political figures appeared most often on the covers of *Der Spiegel*. A total of 52% of the symbols were political figures, while the symbols coded as other were the second most used at 17%. The German flag was the third most commonly employed symbol with a total of 14%, followed by the coat of arms at 11%, and the colors at 8%.

Breaking down the symbols by event and the associated years revealed that political figures had the greatest numbers across all of the symbol categories.

Qualitative results. Although it was initially expected that the German flag was the most common form of patriotism and national identity on *Der Spiegel*, the data showed that political figures were more readily apparent from the first event to the last event. During the years pertaining to the reunification of Germany, *Der Spiegel* portrayed political figures for a wide range of subjects. At certain times, the face of a political figure was featured on the yellow diagonal corner banners. However, images of political figures on the banners were not counted as part of the coding process. Instead, the quantitative research focused on the depiction of symbols such as political figures as part of the main cover image.

The covers from the 1950s presented political figures in a simplistic manner, with a single color background and small captions. This later evolved, as more color, diverse backgrounds, and bigger headlines were applied to the depiction of political figures. *Der Spiegel* particularly emphasized the choice of background, often using images relating to nature or weather that connected to the political figure on the cover. This was particularly true for covers pertaining to the years of the reunification of Germany. For example, Issue 8 (Figure 19) portrays the public dispute between two politicians, former Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the current Chairman of the Left Party, Hans Modrow, by featuring a dark sky and thick clouds.

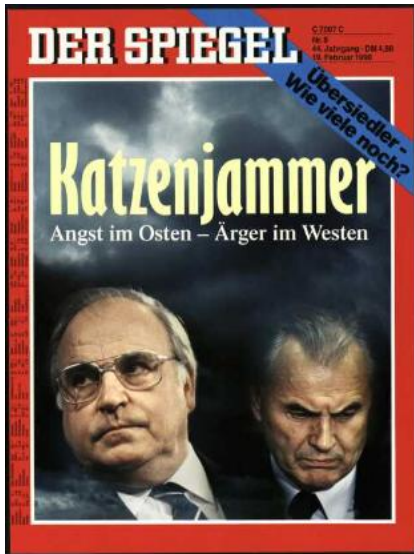


Figure 19: Issue 8, 1990

© 8 (1990) DER SPIEGEL

Similarly, Issue 30 (Figure 20) features former Chancellor of Germany, Gerhard Schröder, overshadowed by a cloudy sky. This represents a visual form of criticism and doubt surrounding Schröder.



Figure 20: Issue 30, 2004

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Der Spiegel drew not only from images of weather to serve as metaphors of certain political issues, but also other aspects of the natural environment, such as the image of a large sunflower on Issue 3 (Figure 21). Three members of the Green Party are walking towards a sunflower that resembles the sun, making a direct connection to the environmental goals associated with the Green Party (“Green party of Germany,” n.d.) with the main cover line “Der Grüne Traum” (The Green Dream).



Figure 21: Issue 3, 1987

© 3 (1987) DER SPIEGEL

Figures 19 through 21 not only demonstrate the subliminal meaning behind the larger background images, but also the distinct visual relationship between the background and the politicians on the cover. For example, on Issue 8 (Figure 19), Helmut Kohl and Hans Modrow blend in with the cloudy weather in the background, making the larger image and its message appear particularly strong. Similarly, on Issue 3 (Figure 21), the three politicians and the sunflower visually complement each other,

therefore emphasizing the roles of both the background and the political figures as part of the cover story. On the other hand, on Issue 30 (Figure 20), the background dominates the overall cover. This makes Schröder, who is pictured in the bottom left-hand corner, appear almost insignificant compared to the overall cover. While the covers of the late 1980s switched between the placement of political figures and the background, on the earlier issues of 1947, political figures were primarily in the foreground of the covers, at times even partly covering the nameplate. This was rarely the case for covers starting in 1987, in which political figures were centered or depicted in one corner of the cover, but hardly extending beyond the red frame surrounding the image.

Although the majority of covers across the four events primarily focused on political figures in office at the time, certain covers in 1987 and onward also featured key historical figures of Germany, including Adolf Hitler. There was a particularly strong reoccurrence of images of Hitler on *Der Spiegel* in 2004, referencing everything from a film about his life to his attempted murder in 1944. *Der Spiegel* would feature historical photos from the Hitler era, while other covers juxtaposed full cover images of Hitler onto the background. While most instances were a direct reference to Hitler's controversial past, other covers associated Hitler with recent situations or political figures in Germany.

From historical figures to weather-specific conditions, political figures were grouped with a diverse selection of background images throughout the years, including the black, red, and yellow horizontal stripes of the German flag. Sometimes a politician would directly flaunt the flag, as shown on Issue 9 (Figure 22), in which the cover is crowded with various German politicians. The fact that each politician is holding a flag

and the main headline is “Lachnummer Deutschland” (Laughingstock Germany), presents a certain irony. The German colors and flags depict a form of pride. However, the cover is also questioning the state of the nation, specifically whether to take lightly political issues, including healthcare reform.



Figure 22: Issue 9, 2004

© 9 (2004) DER SPIEGEL

Aside from featuring figures on the cover waving the flag, other times, the flag was a part of the overall image, like on the hood of a car on Issue 21 (Figure 23). The cover is pointing to the fact that former Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, is trying to promote the recent reunification of East and West Germany with the subhead that reads “In Eile zur Einheit” (In a Hurry for Unity). Both Kohl and his passenger are wearing neckties with the German flag, and the words “Kohls Machtrausch” (Kohl’s Power Trip) boldly written across the cover. In context, the cover is specifically questioning Kohl’s involvement and motives in the Unification Treaty, officially referred to as the “Two plus Four

Treaty,” which called for negotiations between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the GDR, and the four countries occupying Germany, namely France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union (“Two plus four treaty,” n.d.).



Figure 23: Issue 21, 1990

© 21 (1990) DER SPIEGEL

The German flag not only shared cover space with major politicians at the time, but also with general depictions of what it meant to be German, especially in the reunified nation. What were previously known as two distinctly different German flags, one bearing the GDR coat of arms (“East Germany 1949-1990” n.d.), soon became one universal symbol of national identity within a reunified Germany. Issue 39 (Figure 24) represents the struggles that the newly united Germans faced in 1990, as people who once lived worlds apart on opposite sides of the Berlin Wall, were to coexist together. With the words “Vereint aber Fremd: Die ungleichen Deutschen” (United but Strangers: The Unequal Germans), Issue 39 (Figure 24) is addressing the differences of the East and

West German societies on the cover by accentuating their differences including appearance, even though they are bound together by their nationality, as is represented by their intertwined neckties.

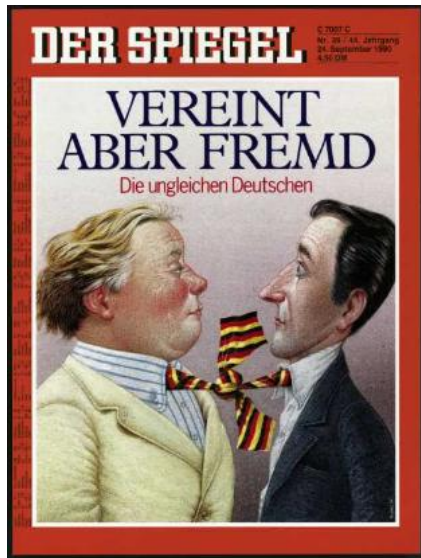


Figure 24: Issue 39, 1990

© 39 (1990) DER SPIEGEL

While the image of the country flag on the necktie became a reoccurring motif on the covers, especially during the time of the reunification of Germany, *Der Spiegel* also focused on the depiction of the country capital, Berlin. As the second most common form of patriotism and national identity, the symbols coded as other surrounding the reunification of Germany often pertained to the development and historical significance of the city of Berlin. The covers included images of historical landmarks such as the Brandenburg Gate and the Television Tower, which didn't appear on *Der Spiegel* until after the Berlin Wall fell. The covers rarely had a full-page depiction of features associated with Berlin. Instead, the cityscape was generally used as a backdrop, drawing

focus to the main image like on Issue 44 (Figure 25). The Brandenburg Gate and the Television Tower are both visible on the bottom of the cover, setting the location of the cover story. Yet, the mysterious figure is taking up 80% of the image. Even though the background is not in focus compared to the man carrying a suitcase full of money, each of the different elements, from the cover lines to the background color gradient, are visually working together to draw attention to the story of graft from the GDR.



Figure 25: Issue 44, 1990

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Despite the lack of covers prior to 1989 with images pertaining to Berlin, which at that time was a taboo subject that for years merely drew focus to a divided country, the later covers celebrated the “Comeback einer Weltstadt” (Comeback of a World Metropolis) as shown on Issue 12 (Figure 26). Through the birds-eye view illustration of the city, *Der Spiegel* is acknowledging and embracing Berlin as an overall city and its connection to America, China, and Russia, rather than highlighting certain landmarks and

key political figures. Aside from the relatively strong presence of political figures and symbols coded as other compared to the German flag, each of the symbols ranged in meaning and significance that in one way or another underlined Germany's struggles, historical pride, and plans for the future.

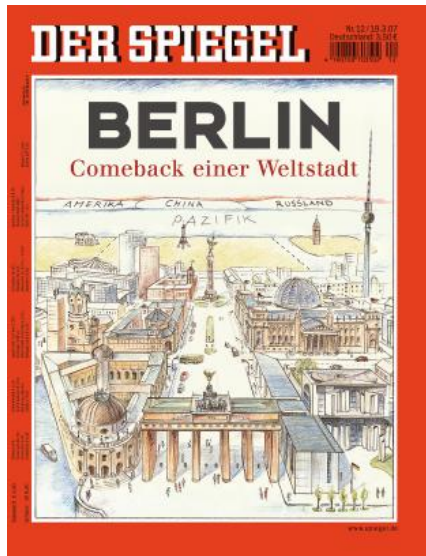


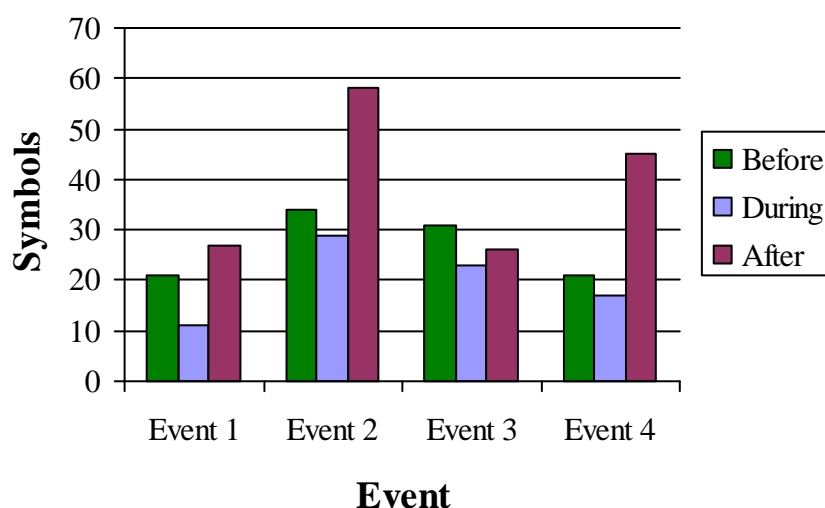
Figure 26: Issue 12, 2007

© 12 (2007) DER SPIEGEL

Hypothesis 4. There are more symbols of patriotism and national identity on *Der Spiegel* covers after each of the series of events than before the events. This hypothesis was confirmed.

Quantitative results. Of the four events, all but one event showed an increase in symbols after each event. Graph 6 shows the number of symbols before, during, and after the events. According to the graph, event three, the adoption of the Euro, had a greater number of symbols before versus after the event. For each of the

remaining three events, all of the patriotism and national identity symbols were greater after the years pertaining to the event. Nevertheless, event three had the second highest number of symbols before the event. The graph also shows that the covers after event two, the reunification of Germany, had the strongest increase in overall symbols before versus after the event.



Graph 6

Number of Patriotism and National Identity Symbols Before, During, and After Events

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

To confirm the significance in the number of symbols before the reunification of Germany to the symbols after the event, a *t*-test was conducted. The results of the *t*-test are shown in Table 4, which reveals that there was a statistical significance in some of the symbols after the event versus before the event. There was an exception with the political figures, flag, and colors, which showed no statistical significance in the rate of occurrence as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Independent Sample T-test of Symbols Before Versus After the Reunification of Germany

Symbols	Before	After	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Political figures	.25	.15	201.329	1.697	.091
Flag	.04	.11	172.112	-1.899	.059
Colors	.03	.05	194.423	-.731	.465
Coat of arms	.00	.13	103.000	-3.836	.001
Other	.01	.13	120.477	-3.401	.001

Note. Group event years: before (1987-1988); after (1990-1991).

While event two showed the strongest contrast in relation to the number of symbols before versus after the event, Graph 6 also reveals that there were minimal decreases in the patriotism and national identity symbols before event two, before event three, and before event four, to the number of symbols during each of the events. On the contrary, in event one, there was a significant drop of about 10 symbols, from before to during the event. The difference in symbol occurrences before versus during the events is also evident in Table 5, in which the five symbols are broken down in percentages before, during, and after each event.

Table 5

Number of Patriotism and National Identity Symbols in Percentages Before, During, and After Events

Symbols	Event 1 (<i>n</i> = 59)	Event 2 (<i>n</i> = 121)	Event 3 (<i>n</i> = 80)	Event 4 (<i>n</i> = 83)
Political figures				
Before	35.6%	21.5%	16.3%	15.7%
During	13.6	8.3	16.3	4.8
After	35.6	13.2	12.6	16.9
Flag				
Before	0	3.3	7.6	2.4
During	1.7	2.5	1.3	4.8
After	0	8.3	7.6	8.4
Colors				
Before	0	2.5	1.3	1.2
During	0	5	2.6	4.8
After	1.7	4.1	2.6	1.2
Coat of arms				
Before	1.7	0	2.6	2.4
During	3.4	4.1	3.8	2.4
After	0	10	2.6	4.8
Other				
Before	1.7	.8	11.3	3.6
During	1.7	4.1	5	1.2
After	3.4	10.7	7.6	9.6

Note. Event 1: building of the Berlin Wall; Event 2: reunification of Germany; Event 3: adoption of the Euro; Event 4: 2006 World Cup.

The majority of symbols in Table 5 appeared to increase from before to after each event. However, depending on the event and the symbol, certain symbols at times decreased from before to after the event, for example the number of political figures in event two. What was 21.5% of political figure symbols before the reunification of Germany, decreased to 13.2% after the event. At other times, the symbols stayed constant. For instance, the number of colors pertaining to event three was 2.6% during

and after the event. Some of the data in Table 5 also supports the information presented in Graph 6. For example, there were often less symbols during an event than before an event. Table 5 not only details the specifics of the overall symbols in relation to the event years, but also highlights what the symbols mean for each event as a whole.

Between the four events, the highest percentages of symbols were political figures. This is particularly true of event one, which started with 35.6% political figures before the building of the Berlin Wall. Yet, there were hardly any changes in the presence of the flag and colors related to event one, which ranged between 0% and 1.7%. During event two, the numbers were spread out across the symbols, with a strong focus on political figures as well as the category defined as other, which was 10.7% after the reunification of Germany. There was also a strong presence of flags surrounding event two, increasing from 2.5% during the second event to 8.3% after the event. The adoption of the Euro and the 2006 World Cup had overall high percentages of political figures and symbols coded as other. Yet, event four also had a high number of flag symbols that continued to increase from before (2.4%), to during (4.8%), to after (8.4%) the 2006 World Cup. During the fourth event, the covers had a strong presence of colors. However, the colors decreased after the 2006 World Cup occurred. According to Table 5, during the 2006 World Cup, 4.8% were colors, which decreased to 1.2% in the years after the fourth event. Although the percentages varied by event and symbol, Table 5 nonetheless shows that certain symbols were apparent in some events more than others, which helps to shed meaning on the qualitative observations.

Qualitative results. As the data from the four hypotheses reveals, political figures were a commonly used symbol on *Der Spiegel* covers across all of the events. Around the building of the Berlin Wall, every few covers had a political figure who was involved in or influenced the major issues of the early 1960s. The year 1961 signified the tensions that were brewing across Germany, as East Germans fled their communist system to a democratic West Germany (Burgan, 2008). The flow of East Germans to West Germany eventually resulted in the building of the Berlin Wall (Burgan, 2008). Despite the pressing times, none of the covers of *Der Spiegel* in 1961 presented images of the physical concrete wall separating East from West Germany. Of the 53 issues in 1961, it is not immediately apparent which cover pertains to the issues surrounding the building of the Berlin Wall. The cover that remotely pertains to a divided Germany is an image of John F. Kennedy and General Maxwell Davenport Taylor. The cover addresses their mutual efforts to develop military strategies in response to the Berlin Crisis of 1961. As part of the Berlin Crisis of 1961, Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, called for negotiations to end the occupation of West Berlin by troops from the United States, United Kingdom, Great Britain, and France (“Berlin Wall,” n.d.). The first visual instance of the Berlin Wall on *Der Spiegel* did not appear until 1962 on Issue 13 (Figure 27). The main cover line “Flucht Durch die Mauer” (Escape through the Wall) and the image of the guardsman in the background relates to the aftermath of the Berlin Wall and those who tried to cross.

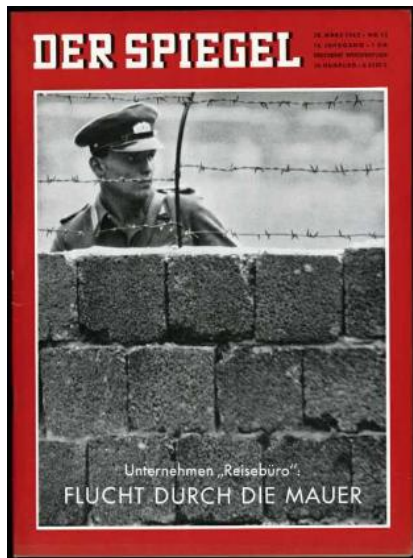


Figure 27: Issue 13, 1962

© 13 (1962) DER SPIEGEL

The next appearance of the Berlin Wall on the covers was in 1989 on Issue 46 (Figure 28), which followed the reunification of Germany. On the cover, Germans are taking the destruction of the Berlin Wall into their own hands, as one man is chipping away at the graffiti-covered barrier with an axe. The fact that a row of Germans is standing on top of the Berlin Wall below the headline “Das Volk Siegt” (The People Win) shows a certain pride in Germany, now that the barrier between East and West is being dismantled. The subheads printed on the cover, “Offene Grenzen” (Open Borders) and “Freie Wahlen” (Free Votes), particularly highlights the newly attained freedom for Germans to cross the border once more.

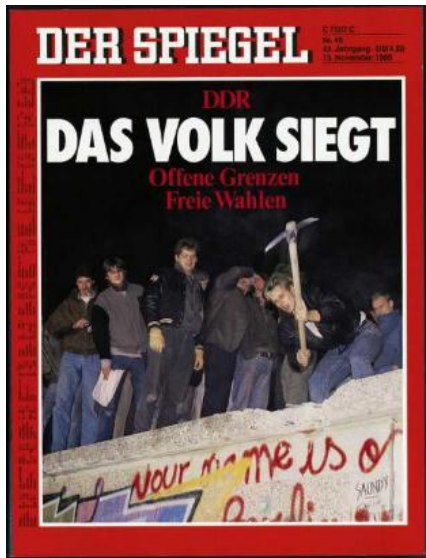


Figure 28: Issue 46, 1989

© 46 (1989) DER SPIEGEL

Following Issue 46 (Figure 28), there was an increasing use of flags as well as other symbols such as the reoccurring images of the German currency and the coat of arms, which is reiterated in the quantitative data of the hypothesis. There was a strong presence of the GDR coat of arms leading up to the reunification of Germany. Yet, the covers of 1990 also marked the presence of the German currency. Several covers around this time featured political figures that often referenced the loss of state money, particularly as concerns over losing the D-Mark as the currency in Germany evolved. This is evident on Issue 50 (Figure 29), which includes the words “Angst um die Mark” (Fear about the Mark) that represents Germany’s hesitations of sacrificing the D-Mark for another currency, the Euro. This is seen by the fact that parts of a D-Mark cent are being destroyed by stars, which are found along one side of today’s Euro coins (“German Euro coins,” n.d.). The circle of 12 stars, which are a part of the European Union flag, are a

symbol of “perfection,” “completeness,” and “unity,” that together “represent solidarity and harmony between the people of Europe” (“The European flag,” n.d., para.1).



Figure 29: Issue 50, 1991

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In the years associated with the reunification of Germany, the covers featured images of D-Mark coins and bills, yet there was more visual emphasis on the coin. On the other hand, during the years preceding the adoption of the Euro, *Der Spiegel* mainly presented D-Mark bills on its covers in varying forms. Once the Euro became the official currency in Germany in 2002, the covers incorporated images of both Euro coins and bills, especially in the early years of currency circulation. Despite the initial uncertainties surrounding the introduction of the Euro, Germany, more specifically *Der Spiegel*, embraced the major change, as demonstrated on Issue 1 (Figure 30). For the first issue of 2002, the Euro coin is portrayed as the sun rising above the world, accompanied by the words “Euroland: Die neue Geldmacht” (Euroland: The New Financial Power). The

Euro coin is depicted in a positive light, shining on the European continent and symbolizing the unifying effect of the Euro across Europe. Just like the rising sun marks the start of a new day, the Euro signified the beginning of a new era in economic cooperation among the European countries.

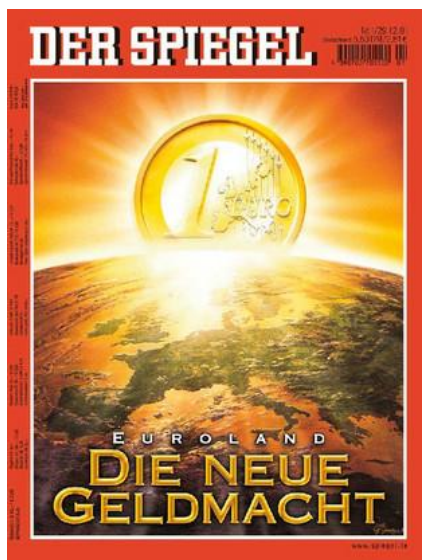


Figure 30: Issue 1, 2002

© 1 (2002) DER SPIEGEL

Despite positive representations of the Euro, the covers directly following the change in currency experienced a decreasing visual occurrence of the Euro, and instead showed a greater presence of political figures. Rather than concentrating on one politician, the covers of 2002 exemplified the associations between two or more political figures, whether they represented the success of major party leaders or a growing public dispute between members of different political parties. This was often emphasized by the way in which the political figures on the cover were presented in relation to each other, for example whether they were facing one another or shaking hands. Even though the role and influence of certain politicians continued to increase in the years revolving

around the 2006 World Cup, the covers started to shift focus on the visual development of patriotism and national identity through instances of the flag and colors.

Although the appearance of flags on *Der Spiegel* was infrequent in 2006, certain covers exuded a form of German pride, including the cover depicting the 2006 World Cup. From flags waving in the air to color-coordinated clothing in the spirit of Germany, Issue 25 (Figure 31) encourages support of Germany's soccer team. The multitude of country flags across the cover is not only a symbol of Germany, but also marked the strong emergence of German pride that presented itself during the 2006 World Cup. The scene of flags stuck on the back of cars, hanging out of building windows (Boyes, 2006) and on the front pages of major German newspapers appeared atypical for a Germany that once associated patriotism with nationalism (Beard, 2006). Germans took pride in their identity, celebrating "Die Deutschland Party" (The Germany Party) as written across Issue 25 (Figure 31). The cover shows that not only were Germans proudly flying their flag, but people from other nations were celebrating along with the reemergence of German patriotism, an image visually extending beyond the red border on the cover. Whether signifying a positive unifying effect among Germans or highlighting the role of a major politician in Germany, the presence of flags on *Der Spiegel* continued to increase following the 2006 World Cup.



Figure 31: Issue 25, 2006

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Despite the rise in visual patriotism on the covers in the form of the country flag, there were fewer instances of the national colors after the 2006 World Cup and a greater number of symbols coded as other. Every few covers in 2006 featured the colors black, red, and yellow including Issue 25 (Figure 31). Yet, every subsequent year, the German colors were largely absent on *Der Spiegel*. Instead, the covers were presenting greater occurrences of other symbols, including the Brandenburg Gate on Issue 45 (Figure 32). The cover is not only highlighting the country monument in the distance, but also marking the 20th anniversary commemorating the 1989 destruction of the Berlin Wall. By featuring a historical photo of the lit-up Brandenburg Gate in an otherwise dark setting, Issue 45 (Figure 32) is reflecting on the past and specifically “Wie es zum Fall der Mauer Kam” (How it Came to the Fall of the Wall). Compared to Issue 46 (Figure 28), Issue 45 (Figure 32) lacks the image of the Berlin Wall, and instead brings focus to a small crowd in the background. Although the two main figures, which resemble

guardsmen standing along the left and right side of the cover, are in the forefront, the main focus is on the monument, the crowd, and the word “Einheit” (Unity) in bold white lettering within the cover line.



Figure 32: Issue 45, 2009

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Each of the covers pertaining to the four events leading up to the recent 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall revealed certain aspects about Germany, whether it was the reemergence of German pride surrounding a major soccer tournament or a newly defined identity after the crumbling of the Berlin Wall. While the photos on the covers alone shed light on the issues surrounding the four chosen major events in Germany, it was the design of the covers, with the specific cover lines and overall layout that helped symbolize the meaning of patriotism and national identity for East and West Germans in a reunified Germany.

Chapter V

Conclusion

This study sought to determine how patriotism and national identity was visually presented to the public through a German news magazine in the decades since the end of World War II, after which Germans were hesitant to express any form of national pride (Beard, 2006). As part of this thesis, a framing study of 295 covers of *Der Spiegel* was conducted, focusing particularly on the years associated with four major events in Germany, the building of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany, the adoption of the Euro, and the 2006 World Cup. A total of 343 symbols of patriotism and national identity between 1947 and 2009 were identified on the covers. In addition, the covers were studied for their overall layout and design elements, and how these visually developed according to the time periods of this study.

Discussion

The fact that a magazine can affect the way in which one understands the world (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007), not only pertains to the influence of the written text, but also to the visual form of journalism. Magazine covers visually transform international stories, but they also represent larger issues of local communities that are a vital part of everyday society, including how one relates to a particular nation. From historical figures to the tricolor flag, *Der Spiegel* covers presented a series of symbols that revealed the perception of national identity within Germany and what constitutes German pride. One of the findings revealed that there was an increase in national identity symbols on the covers across the four events. Although some of the data indicated an increase in

patriotism symbols, there was no statistical significance in the increase of symbols to support the visual observations. Nevertheless, the qualitative findings suggested an increase in symbols of patriotism. This indicates that despite previous hesitations of being openly patriotic, Germans are continuing to embrace their national pride.

While the earlier covers that were considered patriotic focused on the influential politicians at the time, there was an increasing use of the flag, national colors, and symbols identified as other across the events. At first, there was hardly any presence of patriotism on *Der Spiegel* covers, particularly in 1947. The reason for the lack of patriotism might be due to Fulbrook's (1999) belief that expressing any forms of patriotism in Germany after the Nazi era was impossible. Yet, the cover that appeared especially patriotic pertained to the 2006 World Cup, in which dozens of flags were printed across the cover. On the cover, *Der Spiegel* is openly proud of Germany, and encouraging a positive and memorable form of national pride. This supports the initial expectation that the international soccer match affected the way in which patriotism was expressed in Germany. At the 2006 World Cup, Germans were no longer reluctant to fly their flag that for years was associated with the Nazi past (Boyes, 2006; Beard, 2006). Several factors potentially contributed to the visual emergence of patriotism on *Der Spiegel*. These included the many years that passed since the Nazi era, the increase in patriotism symbols peaking with the 2006 World Cup based on the statistical results, and the first time in 34 years that Germany was hosting a major international sporting event that drew people together from all across Germany and abroad, resulting in a local and international unifying effect. Regardless of the cause, ultimately during the 2006 World

Cup Germans celebrated patriotism like never before, commemorating the change in perception of what German pride truly means and symbolizes for a nation once torn apart by a concrete wall.

Although the meaning of patriotism has greatly progressed on the covers since *Der Spiegel* was first published, in 1947 German pride was portrayed through the representation of major political figures. While the flag was the second most commonly used patriotism symbol, the colors were least employed on the covers. This could be because *Der Spiegel* did not place as strong a value on the colors as a form of patriotism, as opposed to other symbols like the flag. This is also evident because *Der Spiegel* mainly used the colors for background images or cover lines. Instead, the majority of covers from 1947 to 2009, especially during the building of the Berlin Wall, featured the face of a political figure. As a result, national pride in Germany in 1947 primarily rested on what each of the political figures signified for Germany. The strong visual presence of politicians was not only due to the political turmoil still lingering from World War II, but also the hopeful changes brought about by the political parties of both East and West Germany and the newly appointed Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer (Turk, 1999). As a result, German pride was associated with the positive changes that politicians were attempting to instill in a country still recovering from the repercussions of the war. Although there was not a strong presence of patriotism symbols during the reunification of Germany, 1989 nevertheless marked a significant change in the way that *Der Spiegel* portrayed national pride, particularly through the increasing presence of the flag, national colors, and symbols coded as other. Unlike research that shows that the media often

portrays themes of patriotism in a time of crisis (Skitka, 2005), the patriotism symbols were not particularly strong during difficult times like the building of the Berlin Wall, as East and West Germans were developing their own sense of identity (O'Connell, 2009) in a divided Germany. In addition, to reiterate Fulbrook's (1999) point, it was impossible to express any forms of national pride following the Holocaust. Instead, the symbols were strongly represented during a positive event, the 2006 World Cup, as shown by the quantitative results and observational findings.

Compared to today's covers of *Der Spiegel*, which often use full-size images of the flag, in 1989 the flag often blended in with the background, at times barely being recognizable from the remaining cover elements. In comparison to 1947, today's covers of *Der Spiegel* that are considered patriotic are not limited to presenting a pride in certain influential figures, but rather present a range of symbols, from the flag to the coat of arms. Nevertheless, *Der Spiegel* continues to visually experiment with the way in which the symbols are portrayed through the choice of background images and through the sizes and colors of the accompanying cover lines. The overall transformation in the perception of patriotism on *Der Spiegel* over time was revealed through a combination of the development in page design and a gradual presence of symbols of nationwide pride.

The visual change in depiction of symbols through *Der Spiegel's* design not only represented the evolving feelings of patriotism through imagery, but also the perception of national identity in relation to the four major events. In comparison to the patriotism symbols, there were, in general, a greater number of symbols of national identity between 1947 and 2009. A total of 326 national identity symbols were coded as part of hypothesis

2, which focused on indicating an increase in symbols of national identity across the four events. The results showed that political figures were the most readily used symbol of national identity. Unlike patriotism, which was slowly beginning to visually develop on the covers after 1947, the presence of national identity depended on the issues surrounding each event in Germany. For example, based on the results, there was a limited number of national identity symbols during the building of the Berlin Wall compared to the three remaining events. The Berlin Wall signified the strong differences in the way that East and West Germans perceived national identity, attempting to cling to the idea of “one German nation” (Fulbrook, 1999). The building of the Berlin Wall resulted in the development of two forms of German identity: East and West German. While the building of the Berlin Wall signified a torn concept of national identity in a recently divided Germany, East and West Germans began to face a new dilemma of identity with the reunification of Germany.

Compared to the 2006 World Cup, which had the greatest number of patriotism symbols, the peak in symbols of national identity was during the reunification of Germany. The Berlin Wall not only divided a mass of land, but also a community that was bound by the same nationality. Following the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, the covers revealed how the separated communities were starting to evaluate the newly formed united German identity, which was visually translated through *Der Spiegel's* use of symbols of the Berlin Wall, the flag, and the Brandenburg Gate.

Although the reunification of Germany marked a positive feat for Germans, the majority of national identity symbols were negative, especially political figures.

However, it was expected that the reunification of Germany would show a strong presence of positive symbols of national identity, because of what the tearing down of the Berlin Wall signified for Germans and how they identified with their country. Yet, compared to the other three events, the reunification of Germany also had the greatest number of positive symbols, of which 43.7% were political figures. There was a slight increase in positive symbols from the building of the Berlin Wall to the reunification of Germany. However, the covers within the years associated with the reunification of Germany had the greatest number of negative symbols. The strong presence of negative national identity symbols can in part be contributed to the fact that the reunification of Germany had the most symbols compared to the other three events, therefore presenting a greater range in overall tone across the symbols. Similar to the positive symbols, the greatest number of negative symbols was political figures. The strongest visual form of political figures as a negative connotation of national identity included the use of caricatures. This, in turn, indicated a form of skepticism and criticism of politicians. Despite the strong negative presence of national identity revolving around an otherwise positive point in Germany's history, *Der Spiegel* experienced a fluctuating increase and decrease in certain symbols across the four events.

Although there was an overall strong use of politicians as a form of national identity, there was a fluctuation in the number of political figures between the individual events particularly between the second and third event. There was a significant drop in symbols from the reunification of Germany to the adoption of the Euro. It was initially expected that the symbols of both patriotism and national identity would increase after

each of the events. However, the results indicated otherwise. From all of the events, the adoption of the Euro showed a decrease in the number of total symbols on the covers after 2002, when the Euro first went into effect in Germany. One of the primary causes for the sudden decrease in symbols was Germany's initial hesitation to accept the Euro, refusing to lose the D-Mark as a national symbol (Kaelberer, 2005). Thus, Germany's dissatisfaction and hesitation to implement the Euro represented a struggle between the "Europeanized identity" and "Deutschmark nationalism" (Kaelberer, 2005). For many Germans, the Euro represented Europe as a whole, thereby threatening Germany's sense of nationalism and resulting in fewer images of German national identity. Despite Germany's strong attachment to the D-Mark, *Der Spiegel* depicted the official adoption of the Euro in a rather positive and hopeful light. This shows a certain willingness of Germans to accept change for a promising future and an evolving sense of national identity, despite the fluctuation in symbols surrounding an event marked by uncertainties.

Despite the decrease in certain symbols that provided insight into the significance of national identity in relation to a particular event, the covers also presented an increase in symbols such as the German flag that helped signify the importance of the nation as a whole. Similar to the visual forms of patriotism, there was a gradual increase in the use of the German flag on *Der Spiegel* in terms of national identity. Yet, as a form of national identity, the flag was associated with a range of subjects including the GDR and the Brandenburg Gate that emphasized Germany for its culture and history by focusing on the evolution of Germans and how they relate to their identity as a nation. The changing perception of national identity in Germany over time was represented through

the transformation in the visual occurrences of the symbols including the flag. For example, in the wake of the Nazi past any form of German identity was problematic (Fulbrook, 1999), which consequently translated into the lack of flags on *Der Spiegel*. However, on the covers pertaining to the reunification of Germany, the flag was often displayed in a subtle context, like around the neck of the individual on the cover. The flag as a necktie in itself symbolizes the social status of the person on *Der Spiegel*, yet it also emphasizes the everyman quality shared between fellow tie-wearing Germans. In other words, the flag on the tie is a way of associating the person on the cover with the general German public, thereby alluding to and encouraging a certain communal national pride. *Der Spiegel's* use of metaphoric imagery like the necktie not only strengthened the significance of some of the patriotism and national identity symbols, but represented the overall effectiveness and influence of visual design.

Despite the context of the covers, the symbols not only helped reveal the visual transformation in the meaning of German patriotism and national identity in relation to the four events, but also how this was presented through the German media. Through design elements alone, *Der Spiegel* portrayed a critical stance of certain political figures, touched upon historical significances that continue to influence Germany, and promoted the unifying effects that occurred across Germany on several occasions. Although there was not one central method for portraying patriotism and national identity on each cover, *Der Spiegel* used similar concepts and representations of symbols that not only reflected the effective use of visuals, but also the perception of patriotism and national identity in Germany at the time. For example, for covers featuring a key politician, it was common

for *Der Spiegel* to use headshot photos of the political figure as a means of creating a more up-close and personal approach to portraying the person. This was especially the case for the earlier covers. Through the reoccurrence of certain symbols and visual techniques, *Der Spiegel* created “culturally familiar symbols,” making certain information or ideas more easily understandable to the readers (Entman, 1993). This reiterates Tuchman’s (1978) belief that the public learns about their country and themselves through the use of frames, or, in the case of *Der Spiegel*, through symbols of patriotism and national identity. Although readers tend to easily remember visually familiar images even more than words (Lester, 2005), it is the grouping of design elements on the cover that draws the curiosity of the readers to discover the meaning behind the cover lines and intriguing cover photo.

While the use of visuals can alone influence a person’s sense of identity, certain events can impact how the media chooses to depict themes of patriotism and national identity. One of the major findings of this study was that there was an increase in the combination of patriotism and national identity symbols after three out of the four key events in Germany. This reveals that some events can affect how a nation perceives itself. More specifically, certain events can influence how the media presents images of patriotism and national identity to its audience. In the case of *Der Spiegel*, the events, except the adoption of the Euro, resulted in an increase in patriotism and national identity symbols. In turn, the four events affected how *Der Spiegel* depicted the historical occurrences on its covers, thereby reflecting how Germany defined itself and expressed a sense of national pride following the circumstances surrounding each event. Of the four

events, the 2006 World Cup resulted in a particularly strong message of patriotism on *Der Spiegel* through symbols of national pride and specific design elements.

From the famous red frame to the carefully constructed headlines, *Der Spiegel* developed certain design trademarks as an international news magazine as well as a canvas for designers and illustrators. For some, the cover represents another magazine trying to stand out from a crowd of competing publications, while for others the cover is an art form that entails a combination of colors, faces, and words to make a statement. *Der Spiegel's* covers are essentially an expression of art and text that can influence how the reader interprets the overall image. Despite the language barrier that worldwide magazines like *Der Spiegel* face among the rows of widely known publications, magazines nevertheless share the universal goal of captivating audiences in all parts of the world through design. Through a study of visuals, this thesis not only recognized the role of a cover in establishing themes of commonality, nationality, and pride, but also that the cover of a magazine entails far more than just words and a photo printed on a page.

Contributions to the Literature

A major contribution of this study to existing literature pertaining to the media was that visuals are an important tool for communicating a certain point or subject matter to a larger audience. This supports the idea that visuals can influence a reader just as strongly as the written text (Kim & Kelly, 2007). This is attributed to the notion that a photo can trigger certain emotional responses for the reader (King & Lester, 2005; Lester, 2005). The photo is thereby more easily remembered than the actual words (Lester, 2005). As part of this study, the emotional reaction to the covers was measured through

the overall tone of the covers by evaluating if the symbols were depicted in a positive, negative, or neutral way.

Despite the contrasting effects of words versus visuals, the observational findings of certain covers indicated the powerful influence of the combination of text and images (Lester, 2005). This particularly pertains to the relationship between the image on the cover and the accompanying cover lines that often contribute to the symbolic significance of the cover story. Therefore, it was important to look at all of the individual design elements, from the catchy headlines to the main photograph that depicted a certain message. The relationship between the elements helped show that, according to Lester (2005), photos, or, in the case of this study, symbols, can present both a literal meaning as well as a symbolic significance.

In terms of the role and purpose of a magazine cover, this study showed that a magazine embodies the voice of a particular nation (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). The fact that *Der Spiegel* employed various symbols to portray its nation was essential for the way in which it viewed its country (Inthorn, 2007) and how it depicted preconceived notions of national identity. In addition, the patriotism and national identity symbols revealed the magazine's efforts to emphasize the value of being German, or, according to Inthorn (2007), revealed the significance of membership within a nation. In doing so, *Der Spiegel* underwent one of the two media processes of presenting national identity noted by Terzis (2001), namely accentuating the communal relations within Germany. This indicates that the magazine appeals to a select readership (McQuail, 2005), the German public. Tuchman (1978) explained that framing allows readers to learn and teach

themselves about their surroundings. Hence, from the way in which *Der Spiegel* portrays national identity, Germans are able to gain a sense of understanding of themselves and their nation. Despite encouraging strong ties among members of a community, there were also negative instances of national identity on the covers. According to Fulbrook (1999), there were certain negative connotations associated with German identity after Germany's reunification. This was shown by the fact that the majority of symbols on *Der Spiegel* during the reunification of Germany were coded as negative. This reveals that the connotation of national identity as well as patriotism can vary depending on the context and the time period.

Although a majority of the sources argued that Germans are reluctant to show pride in their nation, Beard (2006) claimed that Germany is becoming more accepting of German patriotism. This was evident through the qualitative findings of this study which suggested an increase in patriotism symbols. However, in some regards, the data supports Boyes' (2006) statement that German patriotism is to a certain extent still somewhat associated with the nation's National Socialist past. Despite the fact that Boyes' research dates back just prior to the end of the 2006 World Cup, which showed a strong presence of patriotism, the observational findings of this study showed that the treatment of some of today's symbols can at times be attributed to Germany's difficult past, including the presence of the GDR coat of arms. Nevertheless, this study supported Inthorn's (2007) statement that the meaning of patriotism continues to develop in Germany. This is shown through the increasing use of symbols including the flag and the visual variations in the way that the images are portrayed on the covers of *Der Spiegel*.

Implications of the Study

Despite the lack of statistical significance in the increase in patriotism symbols, there was nevertheless an increasing visual use of patriotism, as well as a gradual increase in symbols of national identity on *Der Spiegel* covers. This reveals that today's media places a significant value on presenting patriotism and national identity as opposed to 1947, when *Der Spiegel* was first printed. In addition, this study showed a strong link between visuals as framing devices and magazine covers. Through the media, individuals not only learn about other parts of the world, but also issues pertaining to their own community, including how they relate to their fellow members of their nation. Just as the outcome of an event can influence the direction of media coverage, what a print medium such as a magazine decides to print can potentially affect how one perceives and interprets the written and visual elements. Hence, the way in which a story is laid out on the front cover of a magazine can, in turn, impact one's greater understanding of the messages in the media.

Directions for Future Research

Due to the power of a magazine cover to draw readers to flip to the inside pages, it is important to continue to study how covers visually portray certain themes and issues, especially in relation to major events that affect a particular community. With the increasing research on patriotism and national identity in the media, it would be beneficial to further study how the future of journalism, and especially the future design of magazine covers, will change our perceptions of how we define ourselves and our association with a nation. Since there is a lack of literature surrounding magazine covers

as framing devices, it would be valuable to examine how front covers frame other issues of interest to the readers. In addition, the results from this study show the strong connection between magazine covers, layout, and symbols. This is a potential springboard for further studies of patriotism and national identity in the media through visual devices. Since this study covered a large area of subjects, from framing to German history, several aspects of this thesis could result in different areas of additional study. Regardless of the range in areas of focus, this study resulted in one major conclusion: magazine covers are more than just promoters of the news, rather they are colorful forms of journalistic expression that depict the way we view the world and ourselves.

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Appendix

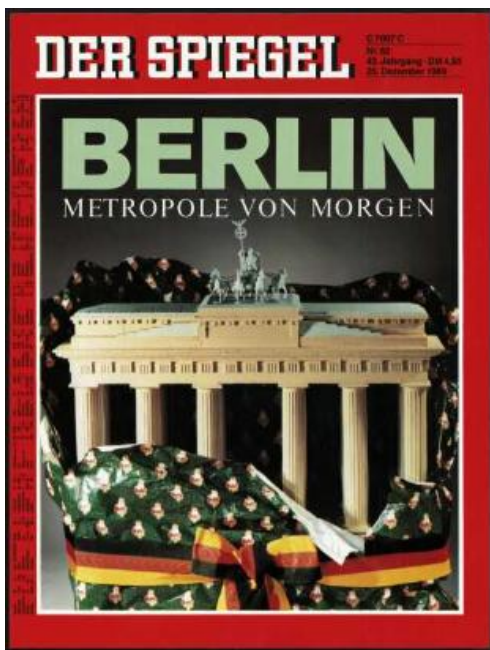
Codebook

1. Main frame (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 92%)

Category	Code	Definition
Patriotism	1	The love of a country (Huang et al., 2006; Schaar, n.d.).
National identity	2	The public image constructed based on one's membership within a nation (Hutcheson et al., 2004).
Patriotism and national identity	3	A combination of patriotism and national identity.

2. Flag (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 85%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Flag	1	The German flag which consists of three horizontal stripes, in order of black (top), red, and gold/yellow in its varying forms.



Example

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3. Colors (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 90%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Colors	1	The national colors, black, red, and yellow not linked to the country flag, but nevertheless pertaining to Germany and Germany-related issues.



Example

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4. Political figures (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Political figures	1	Germany elected legislative or executive officials, which include chancellors, mayors, vice chancellors, leaders, and heads of political parties.



Example

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5. Coat of arms (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 90%)

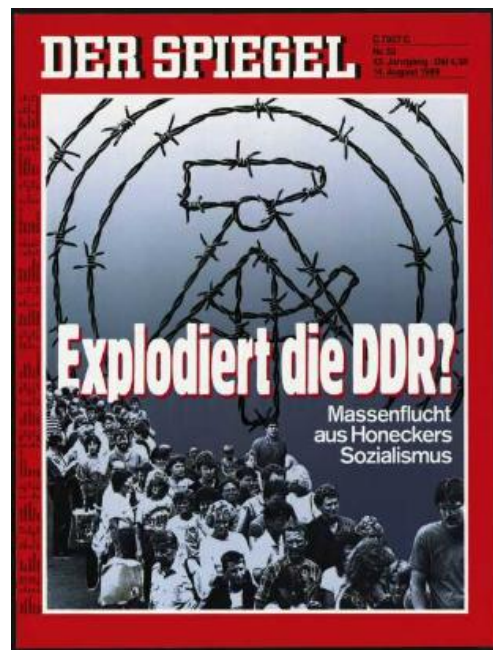
Symbol	Code	Definition
Coat of arms	1	Germany's current coat of arms featuring a black Weimar eagle within a yellow background, as well as the East German coat of arms from the German Democratic Republic (GDR), consisting of a hammer and compass surrounded by a ring of rye.



Examples

Germany's current coat of arms

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GDR coat of arms

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6. Other (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 88%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Other	1	National currency (Deutsche Mark and Euro); national monuments like the Brandenburg Gate, the Siegessäule and the Berlin Wall; Germania, a painting of a woman standing in front of the German flag; the geographic shape of Germany; and the German passport.



Example

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7. Unable to be determined (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Unable to be determined	1	Included covers on which a politician could not be identified as well as covers that were not available on <i>Der Spiegel's</i> website.

8. Tone (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 82%)

Symbol	Code	Definition
Positive	1	Evoking a positive emotional response from the covers that present symbols of patriotism, national identity, or both.
Negative	2	Evoking a negative emotional response from the covers that present symbols of patriotism, national identity, or both.
Not positive or negative (neutral)	3	Evoking neither a positive nor a negative emotional response from the covers that present symbols of patriotism, national identity, or both.